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16 January 1984

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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16 January 1984

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

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SITUATION OF ROMANIANS UNDER HUNGARIAN RULE

Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian 10 Nov 83 p 8

[Article by Al. Tanase]

[Text] Among the great Romanian intellectuals from Transylvania who dedicated his life to the struggle for the rights, liberty and dignity of the Romanians from this ancient Romanian province and its union with the country was Vasile Goldis. From Elena Gheran-Mewes we have a substantial article on the Romanian militant for union in the treatise entitled "The History of Romanian Philosophy," Volume II, Part II, with the editor-in-chief being Nicolae Gogoneata.

His main theoretical work entitled "On the Problem of the Nationalities" (which appeared in Hungarian in Arad in 1912) has great political significance for us in the current period and today through many of his ideas. Just in recent years it was translated into Romanian by Gelu Pateanu and published by the Political Publishing House with a broad, documented and excellent introductory study by the well-known Transylvanian researcher Jozsef Hajos, who also revised the translation and did the main notes. The Hungarian thinker penetratingly analyzes Goldis' activity and personality--for example, as the author of school books--and his main ideas and attitudes as a scholar and patriot-militant for the non-Hungarian nationalities' just cause of ideological orientation closer to the working class than to bourgeois liberalism; so what we should remember from this study is a philosophical view of history as a whole, as the *magistra vitae*, as an evolutionist determinism, as the evaluation of socialism whose final goal is the "absolute emancipation of work from the bondage of capital," the national idea as one of the main ideas of modern society (V. Goldis harbored the conviction that "just as a class of people is not entitled to rule another class of people, so, too, a nation is not entitled to rule another nation" and that "the national problem is a universal historical movement which appears everywhere that certain economic, historical and psychological conditions of social development occur"), as the refusal of any kind of chauvinism, a committed social humanism based on the solidarity of those struggling for their class and national interests and for true democracy.

Even from the first sentence V. Goldis formulates an idea which the history of following years fully confirmed: "The problem of the nationalities at the present time is Hungary's most important political problem. Solution of it is one of the most urgent tasks for the country's policy."

But the national problem does not lie merely in the fact of the simple existence of more than one nation within the same state but in the promotion of a systematic policy of national oppression, of non-recognition and frustration of the rights of certain nations and even in brutal attempts at denationalization. That is why the author feels it necessary to make certain important theoretical clarifications about some confusions (such as the one of "political nation") which actually marked a policy of forced assimilation. The entire problem is treated from the perspective of the historical materialist concept which explains to us why the problem as such could not have been posed in the Middle Ages (even if the ethnic-cultural foreshadowings existed) but only in the modern era, which involves the liberal ideology in the struggle against absolutism and feudal parochialism which are incompatible with the national outlook on the new problems. In the case of the weak bourgeoisie and precarious capitalist structures, this ideology rapidly breaks down into chauvinism which in Transylvania's case is manifested as "attempts at Magyarization" which "did not result from the country's needs nor were they imposed by the form of social production, but rather were outgrowths of Hungarian national ideology." But the experience of the 1848 revolution and of the struggles which continued even after the revolution was stifled has shown that we cannot conceive of any system of rights and liberty by ignoring the national problem or within a policy of denationalization since "liberty without nationality means death for us." Also, as we know, at least in Hungary, the failure of the revolution was caused to a large extent precisely by the absence of a democratic national policy of equal rights, equity and mutual respect.

Vasile Goldis argues that neither the solutions of mass extermination nor those of incorporation or forced assimilation are possible given the development of one's own certain specific national cultures (even Count Gyula Andrassy recognized in the Hungarian parliament in 1906: "Today it is impossible to deprive a people numbering many millions of souls of their national specific nature"). Among the most persistent methods of pressure in this regard--including by using numerous examples which speak for themselves--he analyzes the exclusive use of Hungarian in teaching, prohibition of the Romanian language, imposing Hungarian on a compact population of Romanians, nonrecognition of the parties of the non-Hungarian nations, which is contrary to the constitution and political practice of practically all European countries, sometimes wild persecutions of the non-Hungarian nations, their almost total exclusion from state and county jobs. In connection with the accusation of irredentism made by the official press and government organs of the oppressed nations with regard to some of their centrifugal trends and trends of union with their brothers from the neighboring countries which had gained their state independence, Vasile Goldis specifies that such an evolution of Romanian national ideology is not the product of simple agitations from within or from outside but of some deeper causes: on one hand, an oppressive national policy which smothers the most justified interests and national aspirations and, on the other, the awareness of spiritual homogeneity which "was consolidated more and more in various nationalities. Regardless of where they reside, all well-informed Romanians know they are members of the same nationality and it appears natural to anyone if the Romanians from Hungary follow the development of the Romanian national state and the fate of their brothers in Romania or Bucovina with warm interest" and so it was natural for the Romanian patriot to specify that it was absolutely without a doubt for the Romanian territory in Hungary to unite with Romania in the case of dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian empire.

In the work cited, Elena Gheran-Mewes brings to light the democratic method of approaching the national problem with regard to the liberty and equality of all nations in their joint struggle for a high level of civilization and against the oppressors within each nation: "The nations must be free so that, equal in rights and conditions, they can conclude that great union of peoples who will be called on to represent a superior concept at the level of civilization and thus increase man's happiness on earth."

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CSO: 2700/67

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### WARSAW PACT NIGHT SIGHT DEVICES DESCRIBED

East Berlin AR-ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 12, Dec 83 (signed to press 21 Oct 83) pp 63-66

['Weapons Collection' feature by Lt Col Wilfried Kopenhagen: 'Night Sight Devices']

[Text] For centuries, large military contests took place in daytime only. The dark simply did not permit any large troop movements. It still remained a last resort or exception after luminous aerial bombs or rockets and searchlights had come into practice. Such an exception, e.g., came in the battle for the Seelow Heights when in the assault strip of the first Byelorussian front, at dusk on 16 April 1945, 143 antiaircraft searchlights lit up under the umbrella of which the Berlin operation commenced that led to the definitive crushing of Hitler's fascism. Two things were to be settled: For one thing the military wanted to know where the enemy was in the dark so as to attack him with weapons diverse in kind. And then one sought night protection for being able to move transports and combat vehicles.

Normal searchlights could be seen too far away--especially also from the air. And those with a narrow light beam did not do much good on the battlefield. The way out was found by scientists in night sight devices, of which initial models came out in the 1940's and were still used during World War II. They made use there of the "invisible light" which had already been discovered around 1800. What matters there, to put it in a vastly oversimplified manner, is to use the area that connects directly with that of visible light (wave length 0.4 to 0.8 micrometers). That segment of electromagnetic waves, called the infrared range (IR), ranges between 0.78 and circa 30 micrometers.

As any body with a temperature deviating from absolute zero ( $-273^{\circ}\text{C}$ ) is a source of infrared rays, that fact can be used in infrared position-finding devices. Tanks and guns, vehicles and ships and aircraft and helicopters as well and many other objects and their environment emit electromagnetic waves, after all. Useful there are the objects' own rays and their directed reflection (also called diffuse radiation) when the object is irradiated from an outside source.

To what extent radiation is useable for a location-finding device, that depends on the size of its own radiation or reflection, on its ability to penetrate the atmosphere and its useability at the place of reception. Researchers and technicians thus found out while they were developing their first night sight devices

that diverse weather conditions (especially rain, fog, cumulus clouds) would negatively affect the IR rays. Altogether it turned out, however, that IR rays penetrate the atmosphere better than visible light does. That is especially so in those sectors of the spectrum that are referred to as "windows" because their waves have a higher penetrability.

The first night sight devices worked by the active method. They are still called optical lens converters. In these night sight devices of the first generation one uses the close infrared range of between circa 0.8 and 1.2 micrometers. Actually all these devices work on the following principle: An infrared ray source illuminates the target object. The elements of the source are a searchlight and an infrared filter put on it which does not admit but suppresses the visible rays. Normal eyesight alone then does not see that an object is being radiated. The lens then receives the infrared rays reflected by the target and projects the image of the object on the photo cathode of the picture-forming tube.

It is not to be imagined, though, that this picture is something like a black-white photo of the object. Rather, there are some specifics that deviate from normal observation. That is something a soldier has to learn who deals with night sight devices. For drivers of tanks with active night sight devices or for drivers of armored personnel carriers and anti-tank gunners it is important to know that many materials have a reflection capacity that differs greatly from that of visible light. Green leaves, e.g., reflect IR rays well. So a driver with active night sight devices finds a green tree very bright in daytime. Combat equipment parked under green trees during the day and with green camouflage hardly stands out, optically, from the environment. In the night sight device, however, it has a very different luminosity. And then again, combat equipment camouflaged with leaves may sometimes be spotted by that the dead leaves and the trees send out very different reflections.

Among the first types of active night sight devices in the socialist defense coalition were the models PPN-2 and NSP-2 from the USSR and TVN-1 from the CSSR. PPN-2 was meant for heavy machine gun fire at night, NSP-2 (on exhibit at the army museums in Dresden and Potsdam), for the Kalashnikov and the light machine gun. TVN-1 served as night sight device on motor vehicles, armored personnel carriers, tanks and motorboats, for short distances. The external characteristic of the range of an active night sight device is its searchlight diameter. The following coefficients are in use: Searchlights with diameters between 15 and 20 cm have a 200 to 300 meter range, with diameters between 60 and 70 cm, one between 800 and 1,000 meters.

In other words: The range of the active devices--the image, invisible to the eye, being converted into a visible image through electronics in the form of and electronic lens--depends on the searchlight capacity.

Among the advantages of active devices is that extremely dark scenes can be illuminated. They also are cheap and easy to use. Even their repair is relatively uncomplicated. Among their disadvantage is that these devices, used as searchlights, telescopes, spectacles or sighting devices, can be easily made out by the enemy using similar location-finding devices.



The passive night sight devices are the second generation. They are also called rest light amplifiers. Their external mark is that the radiation source is not an active part of the device. E.g., in the 100-mm Pak MT-12 one would look in vain for a searchlight on the night gun-sight (the tubular form near the optical and mechanical gun-sight).

As the name suggests, here one makes use of the fact that, no matter how dark the night, there still is some residual light of some thousandths of lux. The wavelength range used is between 0.4 and 0.9 micrometers. The residual light is once again made visible to the human eye electronically by means of a photoelectric electron-multiplier tube. For the rest light amplifiers experts differentiate among three different generations, which differ in the technical solution for amplifying the residual light. Devices of the first generation have two to three staggered residual light amplifier tubes on top of one another. Those of the second generation get along with only one residual light amplifier tube, which makes possible a 100,000-fold light amplification. Experts say the decisive breakthrough in this field came from the microchannel plate used here. The night image is split into as many as 2.5 million bits, and each of the microchips has a photoelectronic multiplication. The third generation is equipment with the same measurements but improved capacities, higher sensitivity, better contrast and an expanded wavelength range.

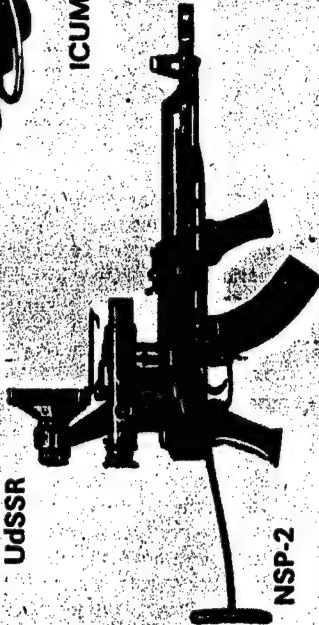
That no searchlights are needed is considered the greatest advantage because that allows the enemy no reconnaissance. A disadvantage is that the residual light cannot be used any longer when the weather and visibility conditions are extreme. Ranges—apart from the luminosity level and target contrast—hardly exceed 1,500 meters.

Temperature-entropy diagrams are part of the passive night sight devices. Their designs in the first generation functioned in the 3 to 5 micrometer range (also called the first temperature-entropy diagram window), and the second used the second temperature-entropy diagram window (8 to 13 micrometers). While those of the first window, according to international technical press accounts, are used for night sight devices above the 1,500-meter range, the second windows are in use as sensors for weapon guidance. For night sight devices that technology, it is said, is not yet in mass production. Use is made here of the fact that any body emits heat (that includes parked tanks, aircraft, vehicles and so forth). Due to that, in contrast to rest light amplifiers, even in extremely dark nights one can reach discovery ranges of a few kilometers. Another advantage is that one can do without searchlights. But because the rest light amplifier is an optical method, atmospheric conditions affect the range. Another disadvantage is its being technically very costly. Scanning the temperature diagram calls for the highest precision, temperature reduction must go down to  $-190^{\circ}\text{C}$ , and special optical components permeable to radiation are needed, which makes all such devices very expensive.

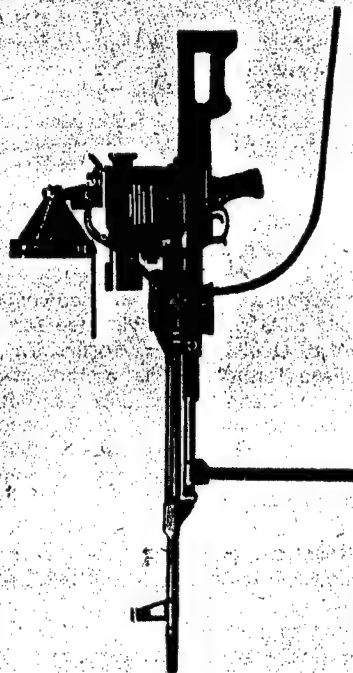




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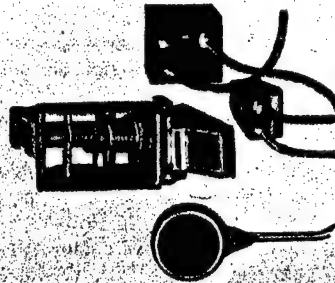
NSP-2



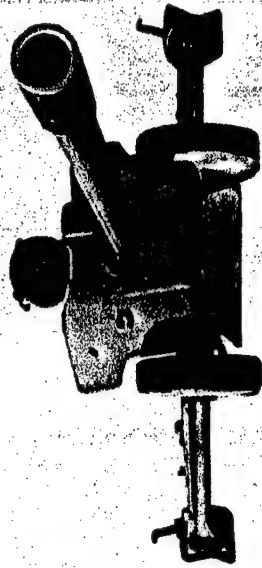
PPN-2



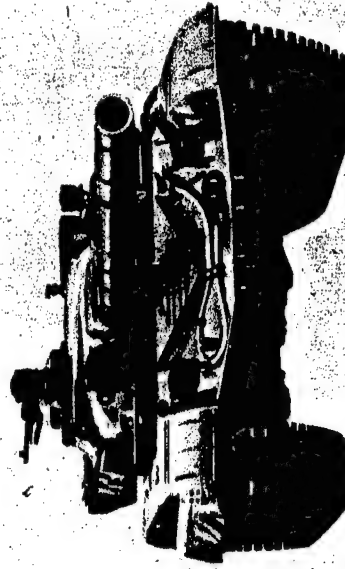
ICUMV-M68 Jugoslawien



TVN-1 ČSSR

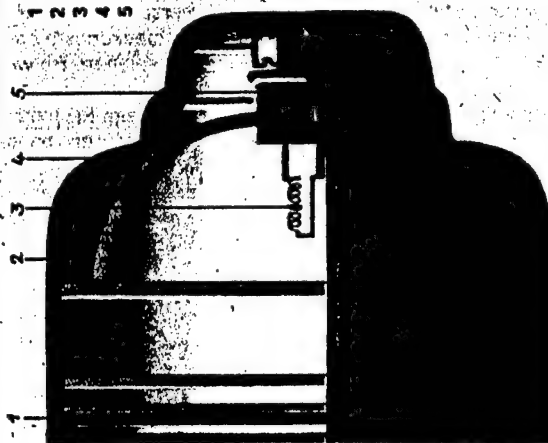


NSG auf Pak T-12



NSG auf dem Panzer T-72

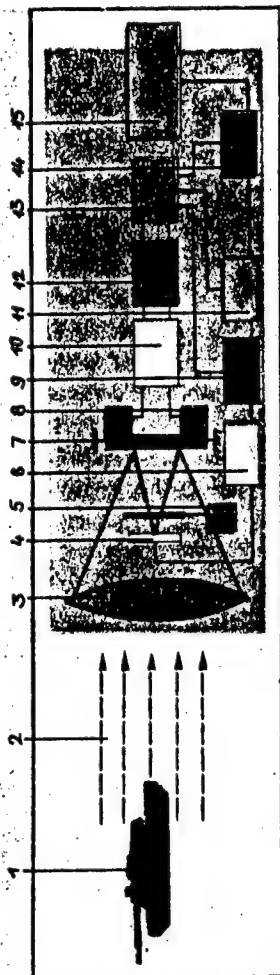
# Infrarot-Scheinwerfer (1)



- 1 - Infrarot-Lichtfilter (2)
- 2 - Gehäuse (3)
- 3 - Glühfaden (4)
- 4 - Parabolteil des Scheinwerfers (5)
- 5 - Sockel (6)

# Prinzipialschaltung eines Wärmebildgerätes

- 1 - Objekt (16) - Analogdigitalwandler
- 2 - Wärmestrahlung (17) - Spiegelantriebsverstärker
- 3 - Objektiv (18) - Bildspeicher
- 4 - Detektor (19) - Steuerspannungsgenerierung
- 5 - Zerstörer (20) - Impulsgenerator
- 6 - Vidioverstärker (21) - Digitalanalogwandler
- 7 - Ablenkspiegel (22) - TV-Monitor
- 8 - Antriebspulsen



# Aktives Nachtsichtgerät (23)



- 1 - Objekt (8)
- 2 - Filter (24)
- 3 - Spiegel (25)
- 4 - Lichtquelle (26)
- 5 - Primäre (27)
- 6 - Hochspannungsquelle (28)
- 7 - Objektiv (29)
- 8 - Bildwandler (30)
- 9 - Okular

# Passives Nachtsichtgerät (31)



- 1 - Objekt
- 2 - Thermograph
- 3 - Lichtbild

Key:

- (1) Infrared Searchlight
- (2) Infrared Light Filter
- (3) Casing
- (4) Filament
- (5) Searchlight Parabola
- (6) Socket
- (7) Temperature-entropy Diagram Principle
- (8) Target
- (9) Heat Radiation
- (10) Lens
- (11) Detector
- (12) Analyzer
- (13) Video Amplifier
- (14) Deflecting Mirror
- (15) Driving Gear
- (16) Analogous Digital Converter

- (17) Mirror Gear Amplifier
- (18) Image Storage
- (19) Control Voltage Producer
- (20) Impulse Generator
- (21) Digital Analogous Converter
- (22) TV Monitor
- (23) Active Night Sight Device
- (24) Mirror
- (25) Light Source
- (26) Primary Low Tension Source
- (27) High Tension Device
- (28) Image Converter
- (29) Ocular
- (30) Passive Night Sight Device
- (31) Photograph

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SFRY DAILY ON MISSILE, PEACE ISSUE IN BLOC COUNTRIES

AU161418 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Dec 83 p 3

[Report by S. Djukic]

[Text] Prague, 14 Dec--According to Western press reports, "uneasiness is increasing" in the East because of the Warsaw Pact's plans to deploy nuclear missiles in Czechoslovakia and the GDR. REUTERS has reported that protest letters attributed to the dissident group gathered around Charter-77 are circulating in Prague.

These reports have not been officially confirmed anywhere nor can they be found in the press of the East European countries.

When we showed our interest in Prague in the institution which, by the nature of the matter, is at the source of information, we were told in a kind way but also with an expression of surprise that "protests of this kind are unknown."

The Prague press is full of articles and reports expressing support for the state and political leadership following the decision to "begin preparations" for deploying the missiles in Czechoslovakia and the GDR. This is an extension of the solidarity expressed in the condemnation of Pershing II missiles in Western Europe.

### Yet Another Kind of Demagogy

True, at the latest session of the CPCZ Central Committee, attention was called to a possible "demagogy" which would equate the dangers of missiles both from the East and the West ("you see, they have mobilized us in the struggle against the deployment of missiles in Western Europe, but they themselves are also deploying them").

It is difficult to say how widely spread this kind of "demagogy" is--as the approach to the struggle for peace in a way not considered correct by the current policy is called. The press does not report all this. However, it is known that, among the Warsaw Pact member countries there are differences of views on the missiles dispute. In the same way, the activity of peace groups in some East European countries (Poland, Hungary, the GDR)--as limited

as they may be in their numbers--show that, if people do not go out on the streets, this does not mean that they are thereby expressing the view that only some weapons threaten peace. This is not even claimed by those who possess the weapons.

This mood is taken into consideration in the East.

It is for this reason that great propaganda efforts are made to popularize the peace mission of the Warsaw Pact countries. The hard stance of the Reagan administration and the aggressiveness of the anticommunist right only enhance the convincingness of the arguments. However, to more easily understand the mood of the broad public, certain explanations are required which enter into the essence of the relationship between the current policy and public opinion.

The terminological interpretations of peace movements also cause confusion at first glance. Different terms are used for virtually the same thing. Whereas, in the East, there are peace manifestations; in the West, there are peace demonstrations. This subtle terminological difference itself is very significant. It suggests, among other things, the attitude toward certain phenomena. In the Eastern socialist countries, it is the peace manifestations that are held which implies an expression of the people's solidarity with the policy of their governments, in favor of something and against something. At the same time, the peace movements in the West are characterized as demonstrations, that is, as a revolt of citizens against the policies of their governments.

#### Differences and Similarities

There is yet another significant difference between the manifestations in the East and the demonstrations in the West. Whereas the demonstrations are usually marked by spontaneity and general zeal which at times end in clashes with the police and in victims, the manifestations are held in perfect order and peace although, by the numbers of their participants, are often more mass events than the demonstrations in the West. The manifestations are always organized by the leading political parties (other forms of organizing them are not allowed anyway). In this way the feelings of the participants are publicly confirmed and identified with the policy of their government.

By coincidence of circumstances, peace aspirations have been identical in the latest actions regardless of political divisions. Both the participants in the manifestations in the East and the demonstrators in the West oppose the deployment of new nuclear missiles in Western Europe. For instance, the television audience in Czechoslovakia has been informed daily by word and picture about the great peace solidarity in the world.

However, the problem becomes already more complicated at the moment when preparations begin for new nuclear missiles in the East, that is, when the accelerated preparations begin, as it has been announced in recent days. How will the peace movements in the West react to this? And in the same way,

to what extent will the missiles on one's own ground--even though brought there "under the force of circumstances"--provoke anxieties and revolt among people? Anxieties certainly exist. They are also not being concealed. But any acts of resistance and especially any acts of resistance on a large scale are excluded under the existing circumstances. All arguments and wide daily propaganda are aimed at achieving obvious effects in "explaining the peace role of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries." The arming of the East is presented only as a "resistance to force and protection of the interests of socialism and world peace."

This is the essence of what is suggested with many examples to the public on a mass scale. In the same way, any attempt to judge the missile arming of the West and East by the same yardstick is considered as a hostile act and this is the attitude that the leading policy also adopts toward it.

It is not easy to determine under these circumstances when the public speaks from conviction and when for the sake of security of existence and its own peace.

CSO: 2800/123

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

CPCZ DELEGATION TO HUNGARY--A study delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee's Political-Organization Department, led by the department's deputy head Vladimir Kozic, departed on 5 December 1983 from Prague to Budapest, to study there the MSZMP's experience in political-organizational work. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Dec 83 p 2 AU]

MONGOLIAN ENVOY DEPARTS--Oldziyn Dorj, Mongolia's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the CSSR, departed on 14 December from Czechoslovakia after concluding his mission. He was seen off at Prague's main railroad station by Jindrich Tucek, head of diplomatic protocol in the CSSR's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Summary] [AU171830 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Dec 83 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2400/162

INTERNATIONALIZATION OF SOCIALIST OWNERSHIP

Prague NOVA MYSL in Slovak No 11, 5 Oct 83 pp 59-69

/Article by Jozef Kosnar, Economic College, Bratislav: "Specialization of Production and Internationalization of Socialist Ownership"/

/Text/ Development of socialization in the community of socialist countries is a dialectical unity of two relatively independent, but mutually interconnected processes. The first and determinant is the process of continued socialist socialization of economic renewal in individual countries, the second is a process of socialization of direct production and labor within the scope of the socialist community. The first process is an inevitable prerequisite of the second one, but at the current stage of the development of socialism it cannot fully develop without the second process. This is another reflection of the inseparable unity of national and international dimensions of the development of socialism at the current stage.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism examined the process of internationalization of economic life under capitalism as socialization of labor exceeding national frameworks. They examined it as a process which cannot be separated from continued socialization of labor within the national framework in dependence on the degree of development of productive forces, as a process which is progressive in its essence, but which under capitalism shows antagonistic progress and through specifically capitalistic mechanisms. It can develop fully only after inception of a worldwide socialist system. Socialist economic integration makes the process of internationalization of economic life into a process implemented by purposeful and planned management.



## Internationalization of Socialist Production

Socialist internationalization of economic life creates the material basis for internationalization of political and spiritual life. At the same time, however, politics exerts a significant and constantly increasing influence on the entire process of internationalization. Marxist-Leninist parties in countries of the socialist community direct and provide all-round support for development of mutual cooperation in all aspects of life on the basis of unity of basic political, economic and other interests in the building of socialism and communism, in the struggle against imperialism, for social progress and peace.

The principal potential for harmonizing the basic interests of socialist nations is constituted by the international nature of the working class as the leading force of socialist society. From its historic mission is derived internationalism which is not only an ideology and a policy, but also the most significant principle which pervades economic relations between countries of the socialist community. Internationalism is based on the very essence of socialist production relations and strengthening of international alliances of socialist countries and their gradual rapprochement is an objective inevitability. For that reason any deviation from internationalism is also a deviation from socialism. Strict and systematic implementation of Leninist principles of internationalism is the most important prerequisite for progress of the socialist community at the current stage and a prerequisite for development and functioning of a developed socialist society within that community as a whole.

During building of a developed socialist society, internationalism affects production forces, production relations and the social superstructure. The most dynamic development occurs in the sphere of production forces, whereby national characteristics in social superstructure under developed socialism are becoming reinforced and develop in many respects. Socialization of direct production and labor extends beyond the confines of individual countries, gradually eliminating national restraints and the trend is oriented toward merging of national economy complexes into a uniform worldwide communist economy.

International socialization of direct production becomes reflected in specialization and cooperation in direct production and preproduction activities, in concentration of production and changes in its structure within national economy complexes with a view to formation of a productive megastructure of the arising international production complex. These processes at the same time socialize labor, create demand and become an impetus for development of international labor division and cooperation in production, research and postproduction phases, in utilization of natural resources, etc., and all of them together call for joint efforts in their planned management.

Development of internationalization of production reinforces the bonds between and mutual interlinkage of the national economies of countries of the socialist community, intertwining of the economic renewal processes of countries--participants in the international socialist division of labor with formation of specific economic relations between countries. Direction of the development of these relations is carried out jointly by organs of the integrating countries, or joint organs of these countries, established and invested with coordinative and regulatory functions by these countries.

As long as there exist national economic complexes organized according to countries, i.e., as long as there survives relative independence and proprietary separation of economic renewal processes in countries of the socialist community, the economic relations between them will be derived from relations within these national economy complexes. They will be primarily economic relations between these state-organized complexes and only secondarily also relations between participants in labor distribution and cooperation within the various national economy complexes. Socialist countries enter into mutual relations as proprietors; these relations are relations between enterprises for as long as economic renewal functions of social ownership are performed by enterprises, associations or other structural units.

However, a view of economic relations between socialist countries merely as relations between owner/states is not complete. From the viewpoint of actors on the stage of the international division of labor, from which stems internationalization of production, these relations appear as relations initiated by actual socialist producers, because internationalization of direct production primarily means formation of direct connections of a production/technological nature between the production units of individual countries.

The derived, secondary nature of international economic relations in regard to primary economic relations within the national economy complex cannot be interpreted as their being less significant, or not actively affecting in reverse the primary production relations from which they originated. On the contrary, they can considerably accelerate, intensify and make more effective the process of economic growth and internal integration by forming more favorable conditions for intensification of the process of economic renewal on the basis of utilizing the accomplishments of scientific and technological /S&T/ revolution and their combination with the advantages offered by socialism.

The S&T revolution is an international, actually worldwide, but socioeconomically polarized process which finds adequate room for its development only in the socialist community as a whole and an individual country can derive the most benefit from it specifically as an element of the socialist community. Thus, combining of the accomplishments of the S&T revolution with the advantages offered by socialism means their combination with the advantages of the integrating system of countries of the socialist community.

At a certain stage of its development, internationalization of socialist production finds the expression and form of its continued progression in international socialist economic integration which thus as regards the S&T revolution becomes a corresponding process for socialization of production. Socialist economic integration accelerates the process of building a developed socialist society by deeply affecting the contents, progress and the rate of building of developed socialism in individual countries and ripening of international production relations into a new, higher type, which becomes reflected also in rapprochement and equalization of the level of economic development of countries of the socialist community. This produces a reverse effect on proliferation of prerequisites for the functioning of a developed socialist society as an international phenomenon.

At the present developmental stage of socialism, internationalization of direct production and labor occurs on the basis of their continued national/state socialization and within the framework of national/state ownership of the means of production and, indirectly, relations between independent national/state proprietors. Therefore, the forms of international socialization of direct production are derived forms and stem from joint efforts of socialist countries and their structural elements.

The socialist community still does not, and even cannot, act as an integral complex subject to planned management from a single center, but as a system of cooperating and mutually integrating national economy complexes which by means of joint resources organize voluntary economic integration. Thus Marx's words about the victorious proletariat heading toward a harmonious national and international coordination of social forms of production are now coming true. The prerequisites for forming a uniformly managed entity in accordance with a uniform plan are created in the economic sphere only gradually.

National economies of countries of the socialist community are connected primarily by production relations of an identical type within these countries and by economic relations among them stemming from the international socialist distribution of labor. By its development and progressive deepening, the more or less closed and independent processes of economic renewal in individual countries become mutually intertwined and gradually are becoming momentary milestones of a single process of economic renewal that encompasses the economies of a number of countries of the socialist community. The international economic complex of countries of the socialist community now taking shape is an inevitable historical step toward establishment of a uniform worldwide communist economy.

We can speak of a uniform integrated economy of a certain social entity when the production forces and production are socialized within this entity and serve its needs and when production relations

are uniform in their character in all parts of this entity and they cannot be reduced to merely relations of parts of this entity. That is why the uniform integrated economy of countries of the socialist community will be characterized not only by developed production relations in each country of the community and among them, but also the fact that production forces will be at such a stage of development that they will be able to function only in production socialized within the framework of countries of the socialist community.

A uniform integrated economy of a higher social entity is characterized primarily by a uniform process of economic renewal taking place within this entity. It is uniform in that it reproduces production relations of a type which is identical to that which prevails within its parts and among them, and in that economic renewal of social product and progress of production factors will take place within given proportions and in keeping with its needs. Planned management of the economy of socialist countries calls for managing a national economy which is commensurate to the degree of socialization of production. To the extent to which this socialization exceeds the boundaries of national economy complexes and is acquiring an international character, there will be need for planned management of the process of economic renewal within the framework of the entire socialist community which is integrating itself.

The process of socialist economic integration does not progress automatically, smoothly and without difficulties. Countries of the socialist community are treading an unbeaten path and are encountering a variety of complex problems. Certain difficulties arise in connection with the still existing differences in the level of economic development of countries and anachronistic remnants of nationalism which in some cases lead to incorrect understanding of national interests in relation to social interests.

#### Developmental Trends of International Socialist Division of Labor Under Conditions of Integration

The material basis of economic integration, the "medium" of this process, is the international socialist division of labor and, particularly, its cooperation. Three basic types of international cooperative relations are developing among countries of the socialist community. The first among them is foreign trade cooperation which has as its prerequisite merely indirect relations between the production facilities of the partner countries mediated through foreign trade organizations. This is the simplest and historically the oldest form of international cooperative relations which was conceived as early as the preintegrative stages of cooperation and does not of itself produce integrational linkages between national economic complexes and their structural links with various countries. However, the contents and effects of this type of cooperative relations change in the complex of integrational linkages and, in connection with them, acquire an international character.

The second type of international cooperative relations among CEMA countries is investment cooperation in the process of joint development. This type of cooperative relations presupposes mutual linkage between partners both in preparation and implementation of capital construction and also after its completion in the form of deliveries for specifically designated consumption, and forms a prospective starting point for developing production (industrial) cooperation as well as object of joint planning in so far as it relates to those elements of production capacities which are responsible for logistical support of capital construction by specific deliveries.

The third type of international cooperative relations which is indivisibly tied to economic integration and shows the strongest integrational effect is production (industrial) cooperation. It encompasses cooperation in both production of individual final products, as well as cooperation in production of entire groups of finished products. This type of cooperative linkages is the reflection of such a type of joint economic activity which calls for joint planning and management in various forms (joint plan, long-term goal-oriented program of cooperation, an international economic organization and the like).

International cooperation is the most viable route for development of the international socialist division of labor. It leads to closer integration bonds than any other form of economic cooperation. It points out the need for applying uniform technological conditions, standards and norms in all participating countries, thus forming the primary basis for integration in the sphere of production and socialization of direct production.

The conditions for development of international cooperation are considerably differentiated in individual sectors. They are most favorable in sectors where production involves complicated products with a substantial differentiation of technological processes and in which products are subject to frequent innovational changes.

Accelerated growth of international cooperative relations exceeding the growth of foreign trade is one of the most significant trends of contemporary worldwide distribution of labor. The immediate object of international cooperation is more and more becoming the type of labor distribution which is manifested by exchange of products destined specifically for consumption in production by the specific cooperating partner. This trend, even though slowly, is also starting to take hold in the community of CEMA countries. Practical development of international labor distribution in CEMA does not confirm the original assumptions that the most important path toward development of the international socialist division of labor would be specialization in production of complete sets of products, division of production programs and elimination of parallelism in production.

There is a multitude of reasons for orientation toward international cooperation (in science, technology, production, etc.). Among the most important is the fact that cooperation makes it possible to overcome the limitations of technological concentration of production and does not call for substantial, expensive and time-consuming expansion of production capacities of the respective enterprises, but specification of stable mutual cooperative relations between individual enterprises on an international scale. The strongest motivation for international cooperation is not provided so much by the result obtained in the sphere of trade, but rather by the resultant acceleration of the S&T program that becomes implemented directly in the sphere of production.

Preferential orientation toward specialization in replacement parts and technology and the concomitant cooperation--which is generally referred to as industrial cooperation--has an extraordinarily significant effect on socialization of production, particularly direct production, and the development of integrational bonds between producers. These bonds become linkages which Marx characterized as primarily direct--not derived through exchange--mutual striving by many producers to attain the one and only result: utilitarian value.

While it is true that in cooperative relations between enterprises of various socialist countries even this transfer of "dependent" utilitarian values takes place through channels of international exchange of commodities and assumes a value form, the manner in which relations between partners are implemented as well as the form of exchange of the results of production between them clearly differ from conventional relations in foreign trade exchange. Their effect is strongly integrative, because international cooperation in production is a sort of a transitional form between cooperation by isolated partners and joint economic activity within international associations.

Development of international cooperation in production brings into the foreground indirect application of traditional functions of international exchange of activities. There spring up hybrid structures within which the relations between cooperating partners from various countries are, on the one hand, a certain type of international relations (because it involves relations between producers from various complexes of national economy), but, on the other hand, they change to a certain extent into one of the variants of the relations of internal turnover that provides for functioning of the individual parts of the production complex, because the transfers within national economies--which in the past were of an exclusively internal nature--become internationalized. That is another reason why cooperation in production forms the material basis for joint planning and is the basic method for implementation of jointly formulated planned objectives, making it the most complex form of social economic activity.

Of key importance to the formation and functioning of an international (interstate) economic complex is planned cooperation of national economic



complexes. This cooperation will more and more develop on the basis of cooperation between individual structural elements of the national economy complexes of various countries (sectors, associations, enterprises, elements of R&D complex), because that is where the agreed upon economic and R&D policy find their practical realization and that is also where take place processes in which true international socialization of production finds its specific reflection. Therefore, stimulation of integrational processes at these levels and development of stable production/technological bonds at the level of sectors and economic organizations requires an increased amount of attention.

This policy was emphasized also by the 26th CPSU Congress: "Life itself requires us to supplement coordination of plans by coordination of economic policy as a whole. Such problems as rapprochement of the structures of economic mechanisms, continued development of direct contacts between ministries, associations and enterprises that participate in cooperation are also becoming of topical importance."

Transition from intersectoral to intrasectoral division of labor, particularly to division of labor that makes use of central, partial and technological specialization and the corresponding forms of cooperative linkages, makes it possible to gradually overcome the technological isolation of individual complexes of national economies. International division of labor approximates in its nature its intrastate counterpart and linkages between cooperating complexes on international scale are more stable, which is dictated by the logic of technological laws itself. Cooperation in production and in R&D gradually removes the tint of national character from final products which are becoming more and more the results of international division of labor. That is why development of international cooperative bonds shows much more intensive integrative effects than does development of intersectoral or interdepartmental division of labor.

As enterprises connected by international cooperative linkages of this type are primarily structural elements of national economy complexes and participants in societal cooperation (in national/state framework), development of international cooperation in production develops cooperative bonds between national economy complexes and becomes the most dynamic factor in internationalization of direct production, but also of international socialization of labor and of economic renewal. This provides for a significant and principal reinforcement of the constantly expanding sphere of mutual economic interests of countries of the integrating socialist community.

#### Internationalization of Socialist Ownership

The process of internationalization of production is internationalization of not only production forces, but also of that stratum of socialist production relations which directly and constantly reacts to their development and which enters into the economic mechanisms of society. It is specifically through this stratum that internationalization affects the substantial and relatively stable stratum of production

relations--ownership relations. This effect involves the thematic contents of socialist ownership as social ownership, even though it retains its national/state form of ownership. Socialist ownership will gradually become socialized within the scope of the socialist community to the extent to which the integrational process will be deepening and developing in the sphere of factual integration of economic renewal processes.

Thus, even though the national/state form of socialist collective ownership is being retained--and will obviously be retained for some time to come--that does not mean that the process of socialist specialization of production cannot continue and that it will not gradually lead to changes in the thematical contents of socialist collective ownership as well.

While in the national/state framework expropriation of means of production was the inevitable prerequisite for a continued, socially managed process of actual specialization of production, because it involved revolutionary elimination of private atomized ownership of means of production, international socialization of the means of production will be the culminating phase and the consequence of the socialization of processes of economic renewal on an international scale. The path toward it leads through planned development of the processes of socialization of direct production, labor and economic renewal in national economy complexes and among them.

The relation between socialist socialization of direct products and of labor, on the one hand, and socialist socialization of means of production and appropriation of social product, on the other hand, differ on the national and international scale. While in an individually considered socialist country nationalization of the means of production was the first revolutionary act in the economic sphere, in the community of socialist countries internationalization of the forms of ownership of the means of production and of the end product will be a culmination of the evolution of international socialization of production under conditions of transition of that community to communism.

Continuing socialization of production, development of division of and cooperation in labor, progressing concentration and increasing complexity of relations between structural units of the social production process reinforces the inevitability of centralized management which is, and will remain for a long time to come, state management.

The role of centralized planned management will keep on growing with increasing socialization of production and in a developed socialist society in unison with the dual role of the state, performance of the economic center, the function of ownership by all, will be coming more specifically



into the foreground. In perspective, with overcoming of class distinctions, with transition of society into an association of free producers with a stateless organization (that still may resemble a state for a long time to come), with establishment and development of a communist social administration the centrally planned management of production will not cease to exist, only its state-related form. But in order for this to happen, this form must become fully developed and exhaust its full potential--which still gives it the prospect for a long existence.

In the economic relations entered into by the integrating countries of the socialist community, the only subjects of ownership relations are socialist states which monopolize the totality of external economic relations. This does not involve some new form of socialist ownership, but a manifestation of national/state ownership in the international economic sphere which assumes here the legal form of state ownership, since even production turned out by cooperatives enters the foreign market as state ownership.

Promotion of interlinkage of national economies on the basis of supplementing and intertwining of processes of economic renewal in individual countries will provide the basis for prospective change of national/state ownership relations into relations of a uniform international communist ownership. Continued development and strengthening of socialist ownership in each country of the socialist community is the economic basis for reinforcing their statehood. However, at the same time with deepening of integrational processes, with socialization of production at the international scale, the ownership of individual countries (more precisely: their material objects) will become in an ever-increasing measure jointly utilized ownership. Factual elements for joint utilization of a part of the means of production already exist. This is borne out by joint enterprises, joint scientific research, joint utilization of raw material resources, etc., which remain in national/state ownership, but a new quality is in the making. Namely, effective renewal of economic resources becomes objectively possible only through its increasingly more effective international coordination through various forms of joint planning. These resources are increasingly functioning as jointly utilized, as resources whose effective utilization framework is ever more determined by their international scope, even though they did not cease to be national/state property. This national/state ownership is not being overcome even in the existing joint enterprises of CEMA countries.

Internationalization of expenditure of social labor and joint utilization of its results still do not directly translate into internationalization of ownership, be it in its contents or legal forms. A distinction must be made here between socialization of production and socialization of appropriation. Expenditure of labor is socialized even in capitalist society, but appropriation

remains in the private domain. In order for it to become societal, means of production must be pressed into service to meet the needs and interest of society as a whole. In the socialist community, (even joint) means of production are used for the time being to meet national/state (even though social) needs and interests.

The very "process of internationalization will in the foreseeable future be based not only on 'falling out' of the sphere of national ownership relations of individual isolated objects, but also on a continuing development of socialist socialization of production exceeding the framework of states." Formation of the prerequisites for internationalization of ownership relations is envisioned to progress herein at three levels of mutual interaction of national economy complexes.

As the first and most important level can be considered those forms of planned cooperation which help internationalize economic activity throughout the entire socialist community, because the more coordinated is its economic development, the more national resources of individual countries are starting to be used also toward solution of international tasks.

The second is the sectoral branch in which occurs the most intensive transformation of the material base for formulation and reinforcement of joint international economic interests which become manifested in collective interest in the success of joint ventures.

The third is the microeconomic level. This involves activities of a sort of "laboratories of international management," organizations of various types which in the name of participating countries provide for direct management of collective resources put by the countries at their disposal. The significance of shared interstate ownership for development of joint economic activity consists in the fact that such activity denotes formation and development of international production and scientific production complexes which are based on shared participation, technological combination and other forms of stable production-economic relations.

Establishment and development of international socialization of labor and of production must precede the establishment and development of international socialization of production means and appropriation of social product; it must be their cause. With ripening of political and economic prerequisites will come gradual formation of conditions for a widely based development of elements of interstate (shared) ownership and, in the future, also for internationalization of the forms of ownership in the actual sense of the word.

It stands to reason that goal-oriented and planned formation of prerequisites or of germinal (i.e., imperfect) forms of international ownership cannot be postponed until the advent of the developmental

stage of complete communism. The process of establishment, reinforcement and development of international socialist ownership relations, the same as the process of maturing of the character of national/state ownership, cannot be processes that could be "hatched" behind the back of the association of socialist producers and without active management of this process. For that reason, it is rather inevitable to support and develop the trend toward internationalization of socialist ownership even at the current developmental stage of socialism.

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## STRUCTURE OF CPCZ BASIC ORGANIZATIONS EXPLAINED

### Committees' Composition

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 21, 10 Oct 83 pp 34, 35

/Unattributed article from a manual being prepared for communist party functionaries; portions within slantlines printed in boldface/

/Text/ The committee plays an important role in the organizational structure and the activity of the basic organization. According to the statutes of the party, it implements the decisions of the membership meeting, directs the work of the basic organization between membership meetings, and reports on its activity and on the state of the organization every month at the membership meeting. The measure of the supervisory, politico-organizational work of the committee influences to a large degree the activity of the whole organization and helps assert the leading role of the party within its domain.

### Basic Tasks of the Committee

The nature and extent of the committee activity determines the main tasks of the basic organization, as specified in the statutes of the party. The committee creates conditions for fruitful work of the whole organization, of all its members and candidates.

It directs the communists to fulfill the main tasks while implementing party policy. It assures the influence of the party organization on economists, on consistent enforcement of the right to control the economic management. It supervises the fulfillment of work quotas, negotiates with leading functionaries the measures for implementation of party decisions and for solutions of urgent problems. It organizes ideological and large-scale political work within the domain of the basic organization.

It is responsible for thorough preparation of the agenda of membership meetings. It organizes and controls the implementation of party decisions and of assigned specific tasks. It makes responsible evaluations of the comments and suggestions of communists and other workers and assures action. It promptly and objectively informs higher party authorities about the political situation within the domain of the basic organization, about the intensity of public opinion, and about the working class reaction to important international and domestic events. It

prepares work plans which it submits for approval to the membership meeting. It directs the work of subcommittees, party groups and activists. It draws general conclusions from proven party experiences and disseminates them. It steers communists in nonparty agencies to consistent execution of party policy and party resolutions. It bears responsibility for keeping records of and statistics on party members and candidates, and of other items of party administration, for proper payment of membership dues and for their management.

### Collectivity and Personal Responsibility in Committee Work

The committee acts and decides collectively about all basic questions and tasks which fall under its jurisdiction. No member, not even the chairman of the organization, is permitted to decide important party business independently of the committee. All committee members are responsible to the basic organization for decisions made between membership meetings. It is precisely the collectivity in committee work that is a guarantee of many-sided recognition and evaluation of problems and tasks, a tested weapon against subjectivism, voluntarism, routinism and other evils in party work. Therefore, one of the most important duties of the chairman of a basic organization is to create conditions for consistent and proper employment of the Leninist principle of party leadership--collectivity in work.

Practice confirms that the committee of the organization successfully fulfills its mission only when it works collectively, when all its members take initiative and participate actively not only in its proceedings and deliberations but in all its work. However, collectivity does not substitute for and does not exclude the personal responsibility of every committee member but, on the contrary, it demands it. Every member must not only thoroughly evaluate the problem and search for optimal and effective solutions but also help carry out the tasks ensuing from party decisions or from the function that he has been entrusted with. A necessary prerequisite of success of every committee as a collective is a most accurate definition of personal responsibility and insistence on carrying it out/. This results in the division of work in the committee of the basic organization.

### Division of Work in the Basic Organization

An essential prerequisite for good work by the committee of the organization is a functional division of work, distribution of functions and assignment of personal responsibility for individual segments of party life. In the distribution of work in the committee, it is necessary to take into account not only the nature of the tasks but also the abilities and experiences of individual committee members.

The committee of the organization decides the concrete division of functions immediately following the annual membership meeting. On the basis of recommendation of the county committee, it elects the basic organization's chairman, who must have been a party member for at least 3 years; in justifiable instances, the county committee may grant an exception. Depending on the size of the organization, the committee then elects from its midst ordinarily one or two vice chairmen and, depending on need, assigns other committee members to various roles in the party administration, to management of business affairs, and to other functions and permanent tasks.

/The chairman/ of the basic organization is responsible for the general activity of the committee. He organizes and directs the committee's collective work to assure effective execution of the tasks. Along with other committee functionaries, he bears full responsibility for the quality of investigation of personal background, for supervision of subcommittees and party groups, for proper keeping of membership records and statistics, for proper execution of party administration, for safe deposit of party documents, and for economical use of the organization's finances. He signs letters and other written materials sent out by the basic organization. He represents the organization in contacts with party and nonparty agencies.

/The vice chairman/ substitutes for the chairman of the organization in the latter's absence and is also answerable for a certain segment of party work. In larger basic organizations, the committee normally elects two vice chairmen, in which case one is answerable for supervising the subcommittees and party groups, and the other for ideological and large-scale political work.

/The committee member in charge of party administration (recorder)/ keeps minutes of committee and membership meetings, records and statistics on party members and candidates, prepares reports for party organs, keeps record of the correspondence and other written material of the basic organization.

/The committee member in charge of the finances of the organization (treasurer)/ handles payments of membership dues at the level determined by the CPCZ Central Committee and keeps records of their payment. He obtains dues stamps and assures their prompt pasting in identification cards of party members and candidates. He sees to it that the organization has adequate financial resources for its activity and that it spends them purposefully according to the principles approved by the Central Committee.

/Other committee members/ can be charged with further long- or short-term tasks according to local conditions and needs, for instance with responsibility for planning and controlling the party organization's execution of tasks in the economic sector, for collecting and processing intraparty information, for organization of party training, for personal and lively agitation, for sending out reminders, for work with the party press, etc.

According to the party statutes, the committee of the basic organization charges two to three members with control of financial and other means of the basic organization, and with control of the degree to which the executive committee guidelines are being kept and with control of the state of the membership records and of party administration.

#### Changes in the Committee Composition Between Annual Membership Meetings

The committee of the basic organization forms a stabilized collective which directs the organization's work for the whole period it is in office. Experience shows that the committee can function even when one of its members is temporarily, or even for a long period of time, unable to carry out his duties in the committee. In justifiable and urgent cases it is possible to fill a vacancy in the committee or to make changes in its composition at any membership meeting providing that

the county committee has been consulted first. For this reason, the committee of the basic organization does not have the right of cooptation which, according to the statutes, belongs only to higher party authorities.

#### The Confidant of the Basic Organization and His Deputy

According to the party constitution, it is permissible to elect in small basic organizations (numbering up to 10 members) a confidant and his deputy instead of a committee, if the county committee has given its approval. The duties, functions, and tasks of these organizations do not change thereby. However, certain other methods and procedures are employed, different from those in organizations directed by a committee, for under these circumstances it is possible for all members and candidates of the party to discuss all fairly important questions, tasks, or problems, to take a stand on them, to decide on the method of their solution and on the ways of implementation of the adopted measures. This gives every member and candidate a chance to participate actively and directly both in the original planning of action and in its implementation.

The confidant and his deputy assume and fill the roles which in other basic organizations fall upon the committee. In accordance with the party constitution, they direct the work of the basic organization between membership meetings, organize the implementation of resolutions passed by them as well as those passed by higher party authorities. They insure the execution of tasks and solving of problems which are a part of everyday life or a result of local conditions in which the organization carries on its work. They report on their work and on the state of the organization to the membership meeting.

/The confidant/ plays the same role as the chairman of a basic organization. He is the main organizer of the organization's activity, he sees to it that it fulfills its tasks and its mission both in intraparty life as well as in its activity among the working class. He is in touch with the county committee of the party. Together with his deputy, he is responsible for prompt and exemplary preparation for membership meetings and for their conduct. He discusses the affairs of the basic organization with the top people at his place of work or at his residence, with office holders of social organizations, and he follows the activity of communists who are active in these areas. He is responsible for keeping proper records of membership and of party administration, for safe storage of party documents, and for economical use of the organization's finances.

/The deputy of the confidant/ looks after other segments of party activity: the extension of ideological, political, and educational work among the masses, party training, personal and objective agitation, work with the press, etc. He takes care of the party administration, keeps records of the conduct of party deliberations, of data on members and candidates, prepares reports for party authorities, takes charge of correspondence and other written documentation. He collects dues at the level set by CPCZ Central Committee and keeps a record of them. He secures dues stamps, takes care of their prompt pasting in party membership cards and candidates' ID cards, he looks after the economic matters of the basic organization.



This division of work can also be arranged differently in individual cases. Depending on local conditions and needs of party work, it is imperative that other members of the basic organization also be given concrete responsibilities, that they be drawn into preparation of membership meetings, into politico-organizational, ideologically educational, large-scale political work in implementing party resolutions.

#### Goal Setting, Implementation

Pargue ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 22, 24 Oct 83 pp 30, 31

#### /Text/ Goal Setting in Party Work

One of the prerequisites of purposeful implementation of party policy is goal setting. It represents a tested means for overcoming the inertia and lack of impact of party activity. It is a way to a goal-oriented activity of the basic organization in all areas of its influence, an important instrument of supervision of politico-organizational activity. The plan not only organizes and unites the party collective, but also educates and mobilizes its members, stimulates their activity and initiative.

The cornerstone of every basic organization's activity is a work plan, ordinarily made for 6 months or a year. It contains, first of all, the goals and main tasks of the basic organization for a given period. Then follows the calendar part of the plan, i.e., the dates and the proposed agenda of membership and committee meetings; here the responsibility for the preparation of individual points of the program are laid down and the modes and dates of their control stipulated. According to need, the activs, lectures, seminars, informal meetings, or other activities which aid in the enforcement and implementation of the agreed upon program of the organization may be incorporated into the work plans.

The proposal for the work plan is prepared by the committee of the basic organization. It emanates from the mandates of the congress, from decrees of the Central Committee and other party agencies, and from resolutions of the annual membership meeting all of which spell out the basic organization's plan. Before the plan is completed, it is also necessary to evaluate the results of the preceeding period, to learn and draw conclusions from unfulfilled tasks, to consult the activ, to use suggestions and comments from membership meetings, subcommittees, party groups, and the like. The committee must reckon with the fact that during the peirod it will be necessary to undertake other urgent tasks; therefore it is wise to reserve some free time in the plan.

Larger basic organizations with a sizable membership can, if need be, work on further activity plans for particular aspects of party work in addition to the basic work plan; they can, for instance, work on plans for development of large-scale political activity, or long-range concepts of improvement of the quality of the membership basis, screening work, party training and the like. The work plans themselves are prepared by special commissions which are active in the basic organization.

The work plans and the long-range plans of the basic organization are discussed and approved at membership meetings.



## The Organization of Implementation and Control of Party Resolutions

The acceptance of resolutions means that the discussion of questions under consideration is closed. Thus every resolution is an expression of a certain degree of consolidation of the communists' opinion on the manner in which problems are to be dealt with. However, it is not enough to prepare a good resolution; not even its unanimous acceptance guarantees the reaching of the goal. The resolution ordinarily does not produce anything automatically, on its own. In order to change a situation and bring it in line with the intended objective expressed in the resolution of a higher party organizer of a membership meeting, it is necessary that party organs, basic organizations, even individual party members and candidates engage in concrete, daily activity in political education, large-scale political agitation, political organization, screening and control. And it is precisely in the manifold expansion of this work that the committee of the basic organization plays an irreplaceable role.

To organize and control the implementation of party decisions are among its main duties. Provided the membership meeting did not turn specific tasks directly to subcommittees, party groups, or to individual members and candidates, it is necessary that the committee of the organization carry out the decision itself, that is, states precisely who is to do what and until when, and that it assures prompt and thorough execution of the passed resolution. Practice shows that if a decision is to be carried out, it is necessary that those who are affected by it not only be familiar with it but that they be also convinced of its rightness and its necessity, that they be told what exactly is expected of them, that they be mobilized by word and personal example and that they be organized in order to attain the planned objective.

An inseparable part of this activity is thorough control of the execution of the decision. Its main objective is to assist in the prompt completion of tasks, in prompt discovery and removal of defects, in spotting new phenomena which influence the realization of the decision. Well-organized control contributes to an increase of responsibility for the execution of the resolution, to training of communist screening experts, to tightening of party discipline of party members and candidates.

The committee organizes and carries out the routine control of the execution of resolutions within the party organization. It supervises the execution of all resolutions, particularly those of long-range character. It uses various methods and modes of work to that end, such as analyses of the implementation of accepted measures and resolutions, auxiliary screening groups and commissions, reports and pieces of information from competent communists, personal accounts of accomplished work, control sessions and informal meetings dealing with the implementation of the resolutions, and the like. The committee has a duty to draw the subcommittees, party groups, even individual communists into the control /process/ and to inform regularly the membership meetings of the course and the results of the implementation of the passed resolutions. The committee must promptly draw the necessary conclusions from the findings of the control.

The basic form of control at membership meetings is a discussion of the report on the activity of the committee and the state of the organization. Besides

that, it has proved useful to include in the program of membership meetings control of the implementation of party resolutions in individual segments of party work or in a sector of party organization (subcommittee, party group). Of great importance for implementation of party policy are testimonies describing the fulfillment of party obligations and completion of specific assigned tasks in party groups and committees, and, at membership meetings, individual discussions with communists on how they discharge their work obligations, participate in party and public political life, play a role in enforcing party policy in their work collective and their place of residence.

#### Work of the Committee With the Activ

Experiences gained in the work of the basic organizations show that the committee cannot manage all by itself all the tasks that it is supposed to supervise and fulfill in the implementation of party policy. It is, therefore, important that even the basic organizations work together with the activ. From the point of view of the committee, the activ is all other functionaries of the basic organization (chairmen and officers of subcommittees, leaders of party groups, lecturers, propagators, agitators, communist functionaries in societal organizations, in national committees, state and economic agencies and institutions, committees and commissions of people's control, other communists--improvers and innovators, members of brigades of socialist work, of complex rationalizational brigades, but also functionaries of nonparty organizations and prominent workers from the ranks of those outside of the party).

With this activ, the organization's committee works in different ways. According to the nature of the tasks that the basic organization is trying to accomplish or whose execution it is supervising, the committee turns for advice and help always only to a party of the activ. Taking advantage of political, organizational, and expert knowledge, abilities and experiences of the activ enables the committee and the whole organization to judge more broadly and more expertly the issues under discussion, to accept a real and concrete resolution on problemsolving, to create conditions for their overcoming. In addition, the activ is for the organization's committee an important source of information on implementation of party resolutions, on situations in individual work collectives, and on the state of public opinion.

Under the leadership of the committee of the basic organization, the activ can be drawn into efforts to solve many pertinent questions. It can be helpful in formulating proposals on measures for implementation of resolutions of higher party organs, for execution of tasks and solutions of other problems that the organization is dealing with; it can participate in the preparation of resources for the deliberations at committee, membership, and public meetings. It can also prove itself useful in organizing various kinds of research and various analyses, in broadening and disseminating of experiences, and the like. It can even take part in reacting to comments and suggestions.

The cooperation of the committee with the activ is important in explanation, implementation, and realization of party resolutions, in controlling and checking their execution, and in preparation of proposals for their more consistent realization. The activ provides significant help in enforcing the right to control the management of a concern, a plant, or an institution.

The committee of the organization directs and influences the work of the activ in accordance with concrete political, economic and ideological tasks which the basic organization supervises and fulfills; it makes use of the activ's knowledge, experience and aid.

It is important that the committee clarify thoroughly to the activ the substance and purport of given tasks and the manner of their execution, and that it show how they fit into the broader party policy. Thus, the committee cares about the ideological, political and professional growth of the activ, places its members into appropriate sections of party training, into seminars and courses at party schools, and informs them promptly about pertinent questions.

Among the effective forms of work with the activ are short- or long-term commissions and work groups set up especially by committees of large basic organizations for handling important tasks in economics, in ideological and large-scale political work, and in intraparty life. They are usually headed by a committee member. The appointees of these commissions and work groups are people who can be counted upon to research and evaluate from all sides pertinent questions and findings as well as their possible solutions. Permanent commissions (economic, ideological, etc.) are formed as aids in dealing with long-term or permanent tasks. Temporary commissions or work groups, for instance a commission charged with the preparation of the report for the annual meeting, end their work after they accomplish their objective.

/The economic commission/ helps in working out a realistic stand on the tasks of economic policy of the party in the concrete circumstances in a concern, a plant, or a work section. It centers its attention primarily on raising production effectiveness and improving the quality of all work, on consistent implementation of the "List of Measures for Improvement of the System of Planned Management of the National Economy." It cannot take upon itself the right of control of economic management which, according to the statutes of the party, belongs solely to the basic organization. An important task of the economic commission is aiding in the realization of party resolutions and in control of their implementation.

/The ideological commission/ aids the committee in handling questions of party training, propaganda and agitation, work with the press, and other tasks of large-scale political work. It prepares clarifications of various problems in the basic organization or in public life. It helps organize the arrangements and the curriculum of party training and keeps under reviews its political and ideological level and how it combines theory with practice, etc.; it supervises the activity of those who have charged to work with the party press or given responsibility for posters and other forms of visual agitation.

Permanent and short-term commissions and work groups work according to directions of the organization's committee and according to their own work plan which had been approved by the committee. They do not have the right to make decisions and pass resolutions. They report to the organization's committee about their work, presenting to it for evaluation also various questions and suggestions for supervision of tasks and solutions of problems. The committees use also other proven forms and methods of work with the activ, such as informal meetings, discussions, consultations, briefings, etc.

## BRIEFS

PROTOCOL WITH PAIG'S CABRAL--On 7 December Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, and Vasco Cabral, Politburo member and permanent secretary of the African Independence Party of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGG), signed in Prague an agreement on cooperation between the two countries for 1984-85. Vladimir Zizka, deputy head of the CPCZ Central Committee department, was present at the ceremony. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Dec 83 p 1 AU]

GERLE MEETS BULGARIAN MINISTER--Ladislav Gerle, deputy federal premier, held talks in Prague today with Bulgarian minister of machine building and electronics, Toncho Chakurov. They evaluated the economic and scientific-technical relations between the two countries and the possibilities for deepening cooperation, especially in machinery and electronics. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 152030 [as printed] LD]

ENVOY TO TURKEY--CSSR President Gustav Husak has appointed Pavel Dzunda CSSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Turkey. At the same time he recalled Jan Malkovic from that post. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Dec 83 p 1 AU]

YEMENI ENVOY ENDS MISSION--Yahya 'Abd al-'Iryani, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Yemen Arab Republic to the CSSR, has ended his tour of duty and left Czechoslovakia for good. [Summary] [Prague PRACE in Czech 2 Dec 83 p 2 AU]

TERRIS PACEM CHAIRMAN DIES--Prelate Antonin Vesely, chairman of the Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic clergymen, died in Olomouc on 1 December. [Summary] [Prague LIDOVE DEMOKRACIE in Czech 3 Dec 83 p 3 AU]

ENVOY TO PORTUGAL--CSSR President Gustav Husak has appointed Milan Mlcousek as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the CSSR to the Republic of Portugal. [Text] [AU242013 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Dec 83 p 1 AU]

U.S. AMBASSADOR ARRIVES--William Luers, the new U.S. ambassador to the CSSR, arrived in Prague on 17 December. He was welcomed at the airport by Jiri Novotny, deputy of the diplomatic protocol section of the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Dec 83 p 2 AU]

PRAGUE YOUTH UNION MEMBERSHIP--Assessing the activity of the Prague City organization of the socialist Youth Union [SYU] in Prague on 16 December, Vasil Mohorita, secretary of the SYU's Czech Central Committee, noted among other things that the Prague SYU organization had 131,930 members at the beginning of the year, "but the number of members from the ranks of workers youth has been declining since 1979. The cause of this is inconsistency in pushing through decisions adopted for work with this category of youth, and the membership age limit set in 1977," Mohorita said. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Dec 83 p 2 AU]

JAMAICAN WORKERS PARTY CONGRATULATED--The CPCZ Central Committee has sent the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Jamaica [WPJ] a telegram of greetings on the 5th anniversary of the SPJ foundation. The telegram expressed the CPCZ Central Committee's international solidarity with the just and selfless struggle of the WPJ for the happy life of the peoples of Jamaica, and wishes the party further achievements in the fulfillment of its noble aims in the interest of the victory of the cause of progress, democracy and socialism. [Text] [LD162341 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1900 GMT 16 Dec 83]

PCP CONGRESS DELEGATION--Prague, (CTK)--A CPCZ delegation led by Jindrich Polednik, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, returned from Portugal yesterday, where it attended the 10th PCP Congress. The delegation was met at the airport by Frantisek Pitra, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Lubomir Prochazka, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department. [Text] [AU220918 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Dec 83 p 2]

USSR WRITERS' UNION PROTOCOL--A protocol was signed in Moscow today by representatives from the Czechoslovak Writers' Union and the USSR Union of Writers concerning cooperation between the two organizations. The protocol covers and specifies the widest forms of far-reaching cooperation between the two countries in the sphere of literature, ranging from study visits and participation in literary anniversaries and symposia to cooperation between literary magazines and translators. [Text] [LD220423 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1100 GMT 20 Dec 83 LD]

CHILEAN TRADE UNION SUPPORT--Viliam Kozik, secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions, received in Prague today Mireya Baltra, Prague-based secretary of the International Trade Union Committee of Solidarity With the Struggle of the Chilean People, who is ending her tour of duty in Czechoslovakia. During a comradely conversation, they assessed the cooperation to date between the Central Council of Trade Unions and the progressive trade union movement in Chile and discussed possibilities for its further expansion. [Excerpt] [LD220423 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1550 GMT 20 Dec 83 LD]

POLEDNIK EXTENDS CPCZ GREETINGS--Jindrich Polednik, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, today handed a letter of congratulations from the CPCZ Central Committee to Jan Nemec, holder of the Order of the Victorious February, on the occasion of his 70th birthday. At the reception, his life-long selfless and meritorious work for the Communist Party and socialist society and his contribution to the strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the Czechoslovak and Soviet peoples was praised. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 21 Dec 83 LD]

ROAD SAFETY AGREEMENT--A cooperation agreement between Czechoslovak Radio and Czech Ministry of the Interior was signed by the Czech Minister of the Interior Josef Jung and Czechoslovak Radio's central director Jan Risko today. The purpose of the agreement is to deepen existing cooperation in ensuring road safety, which has already resulted in the well-known 'green wave' program, and in informing about the work of the national committees and the development of local enterprises and services for citizens. Cooperation will also be deepened in preparing programs concerning the work of the National Security Corps. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech [words indistinct] LD]

CSO: 2400/163



## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### MOBILIZING YOUTH GROUPS TO ACHIEVE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC GOALS

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 38 No 22, Nov 83 (signed to press 10 Nov 83)  
pp 851-856

[Article by Wolfgang Herger, Head of the Youth Department of the SED CC:  
"Comrades' Tasks on the Road to the National Youth Festival"]

[Text] As in all other sectors of our public life so also in the field of youth policy we find the 10th SED Congress resolutions implemented successfully, step by step. Appropriate the communists' purpose of life to do everything for the good of the people and for peace--that was the appeal addressed by the party congress at the young coshapers of the developed socialist society.

#### Peace Rally With Party Support

With its peace rally, our Free German Youth (FDJ) has sparked a great initiative which follows that appeal. Hundreds of thousands of FDJ members, our young party members and candidates in the lead, assumed personal commitments under the slogan, "My Deed for Our Socialist Fatherland," in making their own contribution to the consolidation of the GDR and the defense of peace. Thereby, side by side with all working people, they mean help prepare the 35th anniversary of our republic. With it, they want to assume a mandate for taking part in the GDR's National Youth Festival, the FDJ's organizational meeting, which will take place from 8 to 10 June 1984 in Berlin. The high political meaning of that festival is expressed by the lead idea: "Our love, our loyalty and our deeds for our socialist fatherland--the GDR." The 10th party congress having asked to carry on the communist education of all youth at a higher level, it becomes more important than ever to explain party policy to all young people and recruiting them into concrete deeds for the all-round strengthening of the GDR and the defense of peace. The first and foremost support the party lends the FDJ Peace Rally is and remains its assistance in our political-ideological work.

#### Intensifying Work With All Youth

Right now, the ideological work with youth is aimed especially at  
--convincingly explaining time and time again the peace proposals of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact states, they being the only and realistic way to preserve world peace and thus safeguard the future of the young generation;  
--unmasking the imperialist policy as war policy and to make clear that the

United States and its NATO allies keep trying in vain, time and time again, to "roll back" socialism all over the earth; --reinforcing the realization that the imperialists' military rearmament and war preparation could jeopardize the existence of all mankind; and --explaining our party's economic strategy and concrete plan tasks most accurately and mobilizing all young people for fulfilling them. For only an economically stable socialism ensures peace and defense readiness.

The might of socialism was never as great as it is today. It will continue to grow, the more conscious its shapers are of their responsibility to the fate of humanity. In these struggles of our time, which determine world history, it is each communist's class duty to help young people take their place on our side of the barricades. Of crucial importance therefore is a constant confident conversation between the politically experienced comrades and their young comrades-in-arms in the FDJ, the Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization, the trade unions, the Society for Sport and Technology and the German Gymnastics and Sports Federation.

#### Comrades Use Every Opportunity for Making Appearances

That, e.g., was the idea of Dresden SED Bezirk Management when it decided in July on further measures in support of the FDJ Peace Rally and the "Pioneer Expedition--My Home the GDR." The point is to be made that those measures are headed by stipulations that ensure regular political appearances of comrades, functionaries and chairmen of FDJ membership meetings, young socialists circles, youth forums and courses for young comrades or FDJ functionaries. The bezirk management secretaries of our party are holding regular meetings with the FDJ bezirk management secretaries where the current political-ideological situation among the various youth strata is being assessed and thought is given to how the FDJ's political mass activity can be supported in a differentiated manner while moving toward the National Youth Festival. Similar complex measures in support of the political-ideological work with youth were taken by the SED bezirk managements in Berlin, Erfurt, Neubrandenburg, Gera and Karl-Marx-Stadt. By its achievements through the FDJ Peace Rally, youth has shown the great contribution it is making to the economic strengthening of the GDR. The jointly sponsored GDR working youth congress by the FDJ and the FDGB in June conferred on what the working youth could further do for the implementation of our economic strategy. The 3,500 congress delegates handed over to Comrade Erich Honecker a letter with obligations that are extremely demanding. They are aimed mainly at surpassing the planned labor productivity.

#### Organizing a Greater Effort for Effectiveness

To solve high-grade scientific-technical tasks, more FDJ youth research collectives are to be set up. Another 10,000 industrial robots are taken on as youth projects. More than 30,000 young working people are to be recruited still in 1983 for multishift labor. The FDJ received many youth projects on industrial consumer goods production. In all central youth projects a great effort is made toward higher efficiency. The targets in cutting back jobs and working hours, in the FDJ action on the materials economy or the fodder economy, in collecting secondary raw materials and converting and expanding apartments are to be exceeded by an average of 10 percent.



The initiatives sparked by the congress produced a good resonance among youth. Thousands of youth brigades and hundreds of thousands of young working people responded to the call from the young heroine of labor, Ramona Gailus of Muehlhausen, to accomplish best achievements in honor of the 1983 world peace day. Youth brigades in her enterprise, the VEB West Thuringian worsted yard spinning mill, plan to turn the results achieved in the peace shift into a permanent norm.

Nearly 90,000 more young people took part in the 1983 MMM (Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow) movement than in 1982. The economic benefit of all 133,441 exhibits displayed this year, on the basis of just one year, comes to M 1.1 billion.

#### MMM Participation Can Be Further Heightened

A priority task for the managers of the enterprises, the FDJ and the trade unions is to provide youth, with its fine education and great dedication, with still more opportunities to excel in coping with the scientific-technical progress. Far more young working people and students can be drawn into the MMM movement. Whereas in the combine for locomotive construction in the electrical engineering works of Hennigsdorf, in the Riesa tube combine, or in the Carl Zeiss Jena combine more than 80 percent, and in the kreises of Halle-Neustadt, Spremberg, Dessau or Schwedt, more than 60 percent, of all young working people were involved in the MMM movement, there also were comparable combines and kreises staying below the GDR average of 40.4 percent. Only 74.3 percent of all youth brigades got MMM tasks assigned. Most young working people are set to take part in the MMM movement. A precondition for high achievements lies in properly explaining the interrelations and tasks to them.

A most direct party support is needed for working with the FDJ youth research collectives. SED Bezirk Management and the FDJ Bezirk Executive of Karl-Marx-Stadt in late September sponsored a meeting with the chiefs and members of 138 youth research collectives. That also was attended by general directors of the combines, college principals and functionaries of the party, the FDJ, the trade unions and the Chamber of Technology. The first secretary of SED Bezirk Management, Comrade Siegfried Lorenz, assigned 50 new tasks to youth research collectives, among them a project of so great an economic importance as the development of a freely programmable control for textile machinery. The point was made in the discussion that high demands made, especially, on young college and technical school graduates ultimately would lead to briefer development and application time frames. Beaten tracks are broken, cooperative work develops in a truly socialist way and, not last, the young, alongside their helpful experienced colleagues, feel a great satisfaction in their work that strengthens their socialist fatherland.

#### Youth Brigades Going into Three-Shift Labor

Party support for youth brigades continues. On them crucially depends that the FDJ can face its needed higher contribution through socialist competition. Many youth brigades, such as the central youth projects, "FDJ Initiative Berlin," "USSR Natural Gas Pipeline," "Electrification of Railway Lines," or "Chemical Fiber Materials," are striving for optimum achievements under the performance comparison, "Each Every Day With a Fine Balance-Sheet," are already working along the 1984 parameters and are going into multishift labor. Other youth brigades

ought to be set up, mainly in the construction industry and in agriculture. Opportunities for that are by no means exhausted, as demonstrated, e.g., by the "FDJ Initiative for Livestock Production." Since the beginning of this year alone, in agricultural producer cooperatives for livestock production (LPG[T]), 340 youth brigades were newly formed.

Through that initiative the FDJ collectives in socialist agriculture are making an important contribution to everyday plan fulfilment, the fodder economy, the improving of breeding results and the curtailing of animal losses. There have been 191 FDJ kreis organizations that took on the sponsorship for 218 LPG's in livestock production whose performance and efficiency level is still inadequate. In 1983, as many as 2,146 FDJ members were delegated to those cooperatives--the quota had been 2,000. What matters now is to bring them into line with the ones that are farther ahead.

#### Full Participation in Political Leadership

The comrades on the executive government level also are giving their full support to the FDJ Peace Rally and the preparations for the National Youth Festival. The GDR Youth Law induces official organs to attend to matters of youth policy regularly. That also helps the FDJ cope with its function as the agent of youth in producing helpful conditions for its activities in all public sectors.

That crystallizes in the provisions of the law on the national economic plan or the national economic plans of the local state organs, combines, enterprises and cooperatives. In the kreises, towns and communities and in the combines, enterprises and cooperatives, youth promotion plans are included in the annual economic plans, worked out and decided on as complex programs for the implementation of socialist youth policy.

This has brought it about that youth policy has become an organic component of the leadership activity of official organs and of many enterprise managers and trade union executive committees. The emphasis is placed on the political conversations in which executive comrades engage the young people, the aid given to FDJ activities for strengthening and protecting the GDR, the systematic improvement of the working, living and spare time conditions for youth, and the inclusion of youth in government administration and economic management. What is possible with respect to improving leisure time conditions was shown, e.g., in the VEB semiconductor plant in Frankfurt/Oder. Between 1982 and 1985, one new youth club is opened every year. Old premises are being remodeled for that. A great initiative is behind it from the FDJ and the official enterprise management.

#### The Youth Festival Becomes a Performance Exhibit

An analysis of over 200 youth promotion plans for 1983 in the bezirks of Halle, Neubrandenburg and Frankfurt/Oder demonstrates that most of these plans came about after many discussions with FDJ members and other youngsters. Most state managers look at them as documents about the realization of which they have to give regular accounts to youth. In getting set for the youth promotion plans for 1984, one should pay still more attention to that the various measures are concrete and accountable and to accurately delineating the spheres of responsibility the state managers have.

Turning the National Youth Festival of the GDR into a performance exhibit for youth in the 35th year of our republic mainly means high achievements in response to the Peace Rally in all basic FDJ organizations, enterprises, cooperatives, institutions, schools and colleges. Our party executives bear a great responsibility in having all young party members and candidates continue to lead the Rally.

#### Defending Through Achievements the SED Banner of Pride

The party elections as well as the elections in the youth association have been occasions for conferring on this mission. Simultaneously, they are being used everywhere for meeting the stipulations of the Central Committee secretariat to sponsor discussions between SED executives and FDJ executives in preparation of the FDJ organizational meeting and resolve further measures in support of the FDJ Peace Rally.

In November, e.g., the Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk Management secretariat will confer with FDJ bezirk management on new initiatives for the National Youth Festival. Similar conferences are held on all levels. It is important that such conversations are held without exception in every basic organization and, as the GERA SED Bezirk Management secretariat decided, even in each departmental party organization. In the Karl-Marx-Stadt bezirk party organization, moreover, the FDJ executives will get the opportunity to report directly to their party executives on the results of the Peace Rally immediately before the start of the National Youth Festival. Such conferences then also become an occasion to defend the SED's red banner of honor awarded to the basic FDJ organizations and to pay tribute to their fine performance when the banner is awarded.

#### Further Reinforcing FDJ Fighting Strength

Our party executive measures toward further aiding the Peace Rally ought to be aimed primarily at

- the further reinforcing of fighting strength in the basic FDJ organizations and of their influence on all youths,
- the various conversations in which experienced comrades engage the youths about party policy,
- the assigning of concrete and responsible tasks to youths in the economy, national defense, studies, leisure time organization, and with respect to assisting the Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization,
- the reinforcing of organized party influence on FDJ executives, the youth brigades, the propagandists in the FDJ study year, the friendship pioneer chiefs, the youth clubs and the FDJ public order groups, and
- exemplary work done with all young comrades, qualifying them for an active participation in the FDJ and proven FDJ members, for SED candidacy.

When the Peace Rally got started, Comrade Erich Honecker, meeting the FDJ activists in the house of the Central Committee, said it was a need and mission for our young party members and candidates to take an active part in the FDJ. Tens of thousands of young comrades took on party assignments for it, many of them toward fulfilling their obligations in FDJ election functions. They are making their contribution to that, with the FDJ Peace Rally and in preparation for the National Youth Festival of the GDR, many youngsters absorb the vital purpose of the communists to do all they can for the good of the people and for peace.

YOUTH ENTERTAINMENT CRITICIZED AS INADEQUATE, UNATTRACTIVE

West German Report

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 21, 11 Nov 83 pp 17-18

/Report from FRG Ministry for Inner-German Relations: "Dancing for Youths in the GDR"/

/Text/ Around 50 million people are steady visitors to GDR discotheques throughout the year. Lately JUNGE WELT, the FDJ central organ, concluded that their popularity continues "undiminished." At the same time the newspaper complained that there were still too few dance functions for young people in the GDR. Last spring Culture Minister Hans-Joachim Hoffmann stated at a FDJ conference on the organization of leisure, that the supply of discotheques was "insufficient by far" to meet the demand. According to JUNGE WELT, only 6,051 among the 7,500 "gastronomic premises" in the GDR, suitable for youth dance functions, offered a total of 161,000 such functions in 1982, 1.4 percent more than in the preceding year. These are complemented by more than 6,000 amateur discotheques in FDJ club buildings and in enterprises.

The moderators of dances for young people in the GDR are called "discothequers," or --more officially--"record entertainers" (the text of the first (1973) discotheque order avoided the Western term "disc jockey"). Discothequers must ensure that at least 60 percent of the records played originate from the output of the GDR and other communist countries; they must also talk about topical political issues between spinning the platters and on other occasions as they arise in the course of the dances. In many cases the respective FDJ kreis leadership organizations conclude promotional contracts with the local discotheques. Consequently the discothequers--citing a relevant contract in Saalfeld (Gera Bezirk)--are "closely involved in the institutional life of the FDJ" and "take into consideration FDJ interests and objectives when arranging their programs."

The GDR media--especially magazines addressed to young people--frequently deal with the topic of dances for youths. Due to the lack of other premises, many such dances must be held in restaurants, and it is evident that restaurant managements are not always thrilled at that prospect.

"No Dances for Youth--No Annoyances," was the headline, for instance, of a LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG comment on this topic. In Leipzig Bezirk, the article claimed, some 4.5 million youths had attended 15,000 dance functions in 1982; "nevertheless the demand could not be met, especially at weekends." The newspaper complained: "No dances at all were held in roughly 300 halls or large rooms, where dancing could well have been accommodated. As a rule the people in charge use the 'argument,' too often tolerated or accepted by their superordinated managements, that 'dances for youths cause trouble.'"

JUNGE WELT also cavils at the fact that 2,800 GDR restaurants offer youth dances only occasionally, "often twice a month." Variations among the districts are also said to be substantial: 82 functions in Frankfurt/Oder and 75 in Suhl contrasted with 45 in Rostock and only 32 in Karl-Marx-Stadt.

Three years ago the FDJ introduced the "blue T" ("blue" standing for the official FDJ color, "T" for dance) to promote dances for young people. The emblem may be awarded to facilities and restaurants offering dances for the young at least twice a week. At the same time, the artistic organization and atmosphere of the dances must respond "to the socialist lifestyle of youth" and patrons offered a "youth appropriate supply" of food and beverages.

The FDJ's commitment to the cause is also exemplified by its right to be consulted about the choice of discothequers who are mostly amateurs (there are very few professional disc jockeys in the GDR), selected by the respective enterprises and facilities in conjunction with the FDJ kreis leadership organization. The criteria are personal and political maturity as well as expertise. Discothequers attend courses to be instructed in the arrangement of programs, rhetoric and how to MC a function. In addition the competent "kreis study group on discotheques" offers on-going guidance. The FDJ is responsible for the political topics.

According to JUNGE WELT, the work of discothequers involves "knowledge and full commitment." In addition to announcing and playing records, the discothequer should round off the occasion with "conversation, quizzes, and so on." Consequent on the promotional contracts concluded between FDJ kreis leadership organizations and discos, discothequers are also functionaries of the youth association. The FDJ organ JUNGE GENERATION thus describes the state of affairs:

-- "Whoever feels called to be a discothequer should never forget this first principle: Entertaining politics and political entertainment are not to be separated."

The promotional contract between the FDJ and a discotheque in Thuringia's Saalfeld comments the same topic as follows: The FDJ kreis leadership organization as the political backer of the discotheque

-- "instructs it from the political aspect. The preferred method to be used consists in personal talks on topical-political issues."

Organizations of dances may charge M3 when live music is offered, M2 when discothequers are employed, and M1 on other occasions. When "special class" groups provide the music, higher entrance fees may be charged with the approval of the respective FDJ leadership organization.

Readers' letters to GDR newspapers repeatedly ask about a dress code for dance functions. According to the FDJ organ JUNGE GENERATION, this is "entirely a matter of personal taste and propriety." If someone should turn up in soiled work clothing or muddy shoes "in a restaurant equipped with upholstered chairs and wall-to-wall carpeting," the management is "actually duty bound" to refuse him entrance. "Social disapproval" is also meted out to someone arriving in "swim wear" or "unduly disregarding prevailing opinions or feelings by the eccentricity of his clothing." On the other hand "no real" objection could be raised to clean and neat jeans worn at special youth functions. The assurance of a "cultivated atmosphere" always had to be the criterion.

### Inspection of Berlin Clubs

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 24 Nov 83 p 3

/Article by Heide Schlebeck: "Rock and Pop--and What Else?"

/Text/ In the past 2 months a total of 134 disco dances took place in 12 of the 26 FDJ youth clubs in Lichtenberg. Almost 12,000 young people attended to dance to rock and pop music or simply to listen and meet with others who like that kind of music. Disco continues to be No 1 in the youth clubs, and that corresponds to the tastes of the visitors. Still, should the disc jockey be the sole entertainer all month long, as in the Am Tierpark youth club? Is life in the clubs really as varied as the interests of the boys and girls? The ABI /worker and peasant inspectorate/ investigated the issue in all city districts. Let us stick to that which the people's control committees discovered in the above mentioned 12 Lichtenberg clubs. In addition to the 134 discos, 60 functions took place in September and October, best summarized as "social gatherings" and involving 1,750 attendants. More than 1,000 young people came for the 41 topical-political discussions; the 5 meetings on economic problems had roughly 100 attendants. No book readings took place at all (!), and only one function dealt with the topic "love, marriage, sexuality" and was attended by only 20 young people...

Love, marriage--is that really a topic of little interest to young people of 16, 18 or 20? Is it not possible that their reluctance is due more to the way the topic is handled in the club?

Of course this "how" is crucial also with regards to other topics dealt with in the club, for instance topical-political issues. The club in Bernhard Baestlein Strasse, for example, is exemplary in using a break in the course of a dance evening or another occasion to briefly consult visitors about the special topics they would like to know more about and dealing with them in one of the subsequent functions. Some notices of discussions may be appropriate as headings in a textbook or for a lecture but provide little incentive for a casual discussion where everyone may talk of the matters interesting to him. Meetings appear to be well attended when young people know they will have a discussion leader helping them to better understand complex events in politics and the economy, to gain more insight. The desired purpose is certainly not achieved by standard lectures, delivered on various earlier occasions and providing information already known to many listeners.

When searching for suitable discussion leaders, clubs should rely more on the potential available in their own districts. Lichtenberg, for example, houses the



Advanced School for Management. Some club leaders can boast of a "hot line" to experts in their residential neighborhood. Others strive for that in vain. As demonstrated by the ABI checks, clubs need more expert guidance, better backing. The FDJ kreis leadership organization should make greater efforts to see that the young people in the clubs are better equipped to handle their leisure. A more effective organization and material help by the culture department of the city district council could do much for a higher standard of club life.

It was a good idea to expand to a technical center the "Friendship" Club at Archenoldstrasse 100, close to Lichtenberg railroad station. The club now boasts 10 study groups, dealing with such topics as photography, film, radio, model construction, electronics, woodwork, shooting, and it even has a sound studio. At the present time the groups have 10-25 members; some could easily handle more. Word of mouth in the city district is not enough to let young people know where they could practice their technical hobby.

The ABI got a surprise when it wished to visit the youth club at Harnackstrasse 12. It had gone, the premises were empty. When the manager and his deputy changed their jobs, the club closed, and the local council approved the closure with the comment that there was no longer any need to have one in the neighborhood. Even if there really were such an unusual age structure in this new residential district--we know that a good club never lacks for attendance, not even if young people have to walk a few blocks more.

#### Survey Results Reported

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 7 Dec 83 p 3

/Article by Heide Schlebeck: "Closed on Sundays?"

/Text/ Young people also have most free time at weekends and, of course, want to do something. Do FDJ youth clubs offer them sufficient opportunities? Lately the ABI /worker and peasant inspectorate/ studied the program of these clubs and also investigated actual opening hours.

The study dealt with 123 youth clubs--50 were closed on Fridays, 55 on Saturdays and 90 on Sundays. In Lichtenberg apprentices, school students and young workers were confronted by closed doors on Sundays at all 12 clubs checked by the ABI--and all of them have a full-time manager. In Koepenick and Prenzlauer Berg they could look forward to an entertaining Sunday afternoon or evening in only one each of the clubs visited by the ABI.

Of course our city has many centers for cultural and sports recreation, and leisure at weekends is not dependent only on the youth clubs. Still, these clubs--almost 200 in number--are part of the cultural life of our city; they should be accessible especially when demand is at its height, in other words when the working and school week is done.

We have learned that functions held on Mondays are often poorly attended. The early part of the week should therefore be used to close, allowing the weekends to be fully utilized. The Friedrichshain "Tamara Bunke" Club on Gubener Strasse, for example, offers disco on Sundays from 15.00-20.00 hours, and boys and girls also meet during these hours at the "Herbert Neumann" Club on Gryphiusstrasse.



As many clubs are now closed at weekends, the rush to the ones staying open is even greater, and it often needs a good deal of luck and staying power to be admitted. The new regulation of opening hours--taking more heed of the needs of young people--will change much in this state of affairs.

#### Youth Club Criticized

East Berlin JUNGE WELT in German 3,4 Dec 83 p 6

[Article by Karin Zimmermann: "How Can the Youth Club Become More Attractive?"]

[Text] The Schragenfeldstrasse youth club in Berlin-Marzahn distinctly reminds one of a railroad depot. There are neither bulletin boards nor study groups. Monday and Friday are disco evenings, that is all that ever happens here.  
Reader's letter from Susanne Seifert, Berlin-Marzahn.

We went to find out on the spot why this youth club is so lacking in attraction. Talking to the club management, we soon discovered that the complaint--so baldly stated--was exaggerated. The youth club is open every day from 16.00 hours on. The three study groups--ballroom dancing, competition dancing and textile design--are well attended. Each Thursday expert discussion leaders answer questions on justice and the law or topical politics. Admittedly, interest in these functions is definitely less. Attendance is sometimes limited to 8-20 youth, though there would be room for 180. If no functions are organized, people meet casually for discussions or ping pong. Martin Kotzur and his club council also organize a lot of other activities--hikes, visits to movies, weekend trips. It is therefore not correct to claim that nothing happens here.

And yet--it is a fact that often there are many empty places in the club while other youth clubs in the neighborhood are bursting at the seams. Why? The interior of the club is not attractive. Bare walls and long rows of tables, used during the day for lunch by students of the two adjacent schools. At least up to now this has prevented individual seating at night also and, in the opinion of the club managers, any effective wall decoration, too, because it could easily happen that the daytime occupants might destroy the efforts of the previous night. Still, in the interest of greater homeyness, an effort to change the ambiance might well pay off.

Problem No 2: The three existing groups represent a laudable beginning, but are they really in tune with the many interests of young people? Hardly, even if we disregard the fact that the club is badly underutilized. The club management now intends to poll members to find out what is wanted. Third: Precisely a youth club like this one, still in its infancy, should seek allies in the district--for example among the FDJ leadership organizations at the four surrounding secondary schools and the residential district committee. Martin intends to do that now, among other reasons because he no longer wants to confine publicity for club functions to only the small bulletin board in his building.

For some time past the club management tried to think of a special feature for its club. This could be found very easily, because lately more and more young cyclists are passing the premises. An automobile group would be a meaningful leisure occupation, says Martin. It does not yet exist, due--unfortunately--to the lack of a

partner for this project. The Marzahn Kreis FDJ leadership organization and the youth club are now going to tackle the problem together.

#### Limited Events Noted

Halle FREIHEIT in German 6 Dec 83 p 5

/Article by Angelika Hennig: "Admission to Youth Dances Only by Subscription?"

/Text/ Ninety percent of our young people loving to dance go to the villages. Some of them evidently want to find new friends. Yet others, too, are often compelled to go outside the city because the offer of entertainment in the houses of culture and restaurants of the kreis city does not respond to the normal needs of young people for sociability and gaiety. The Maxim Gorki House of Culture (capacity 552) holds a dance for school student subscribers once a month only. Without subscription, no admission. Not a single restaurant holds the blue "T," symbol of regular and high-standard dances for youth.

The list of examples could be lengthened, but the above mentioned one clearly shows that there is a considerable need to catch up in this important field of the organization of leisure for young people. Not that there is any shortage of conceptual bases. A kreis assembly resolution provides that dances for the young should be held daily throughout the week in at least one set of premises and in several of them at the weekend. This resolution coincides perfectly with the orientation on organizing a performance exhibit in the intellectual-cultural field in the course of preparing for the National Youth Festival.

Many active youth clubs demonstrate that the potential is available in Zeitz, too. Should not a few steps by the people in charge help save too many hikes cross country in the matter of youth dances also?

11698

CSO: 2300/200

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FRG REVIEW PRAISES NEW POETRY ANTHOLOGY

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 2 Dec 83 "Literature" supplement p 10

[Review by Ulrich Schacht of poetry anthology "Zangengeburt" (Forceps Delivery) by Lutz Rathenow, Piper and Company Verlag, Munich (1982) 96 pages]

[Text] Hermann Kant, president of the state-supported GDR Writers Union, is known for his ability of telling the untruth not without a certain brilliance if it is a question of the real situation of literature in the GDR. The purpose of his rhetorical exercises in this regard invariably continues to be not a critical uncovering of the cultural political processes of his state and of how a writer fits into them, positively or negatively, but a quick retouching of this part of the GDR government apparatus, in which Kant participates like virtually no other writer.

Thus at the Ninth Congress of the GDR Writers Union, too, a few months ago, Kant could be heard making pronouncements which sounded acceptable but were lies nevertheless. "It is not a question of casting a pleasant light on conditions but one of casting light on them," the president announced. If one kept careful track of the congress and later read the so-called "contributions to the discussion," one could not help but note that it was the very old team of "lighting technicians"--and no one else--that was at work. The reality of making things appear in a beautiful light triumphed, and there was no question of any truly illuminated conditions. There was not room, not even a special role, for any GDR authors who take Kant's rhetorical demand seriously.

One of these, Lutz Rathenow, born in East Berlin in 1952, submitted his second book late in 1982--in the Federal Republic, because he is among those GDR writers who, though they have not yet been driven from their homeland, have been barred from access to the public. Rathenow's first book, "Mit dem Schlimmsten wurde schon gerechnet" [They Were Already Expecting the Worst], was published by Ullstein in 1980. It was in prose and invited attention to further writing.

The book "Zangengeburt" introduces the poet Rathenow, though some poetry of his has already been published in a number of West German journals or anthologies. Part of the volume, in other words, offers opportunities for becoming reacquainted.

Rathenow writes, however, that "some texts which have already been published in anthologies...have been included in revised form." It seems to me that this notice not only points to the process of his writing but also is a commentary on a certain insecurity, indecisiveness as regards form, noticeable to the reader of these poems. There remain, however, enough texts which transmit their content adequately as regards form, which suspend the material in both meanings of the word and thus "lend permanence to the moment." Rathenow achieves this by doing the same as so many GDR writers of his generation: he uncompromisingly remains on the level of the actual facts which surround him and which have a name fortunately reaching beyond the contraction of "GDR"--in other words, point to the unrestricted sovereignty of the writer amid restricted conditions.

Thus in these poems too the concrete political province in which the author finds himself predominates, but they are not limited to it. "Dragged into life / resist though I may" / (Forceps Delivery)--that kind of verse aims beyond the immediate location. It means the location of life as a whole--in other words, the world.

But Rathenow's poems do not only have "universal content" in this existentialist sense alone; time and again the lyrical I, detached, experiences itself in something concrete--in other words, as being tied down, as being threatened. The poem "Buckow am See" [Buckow on the Lake] says: "Here one can sit / gazing at the clouds for two hours / or three without fear / on soil planted with missiles."

What is expressed in Rathenow's verses, piece by piece, is not the clouded idyll or idyllic sorrow which makes part of German current poetry so irrelevant. These poems also aim their sights at the idyll of "eternal truths" popular with ideologues of every stripe: "Who arrogates the right / to declare our place in the universe is set? / No planet can stand that... / ... century after century / facing the same sun. It may be enough at times, but then / we get out and get going, seeking / new paths for ourselves." But this is not the end of Rathenow's "Lob des Zweifels [In Praise of Doubt], headed "Verkuendigung" [Prophecy]," because after Brecht it is, after all, not possible any longer to doubt the basic lack of prospects optimistic-historical way. The search for "new paths" is followed in the poem by nothing more traumatic than a flight "into the fetters of other / suns."

So is there predominant here too a total skepticism, a feeling that the ground is giving way under one's feet? Yes and no. If one can still express the potentially possible [sic] end of the world in ironical terms ("Fortunately the abyss / is bottomless, and we fall a long time," "Continue to live"), one has not yet given up on himself, and therefore not on the world either.

Against this background there also exists in Rathenow's writing the "happy man" who recognizes himself as a being between dreams which produce (in the poem "Tonlos" [Without Sound]) "growth / from dirt and light."

Rathenow's best verse contains both poetry and ironic bite. It admits social totality into the language but at the same time leaves scope for survival

refuges ("Die Zunge zieht sich nicht zurueck" [The Tongue Does Not Withdraw]) to break up the rule of totalitarian language. It is deranged in the sense of being grotesque, and through caricature hits on the actual contour of the sighted object. Without any retouching it states and comments on the political location of its birth ("Die Mauer waechst laengst ins Fleisch" [The Wall Has Long Since Become Second Nature]) without however resigning at any time: "Don't despair! There will be / beatings in the future... / fences which will free you... / ... Fettered to your future, / you live. Here" The fact that the adverb is not followed by a period is therefore programmatic and no coincidence. Macabre humor.

"Our literature...reports about the state of things here and elsewhere," said Hermann Kant at the writers congress. He is right if he means the poems of Lutz Rathenow.

8790

CSO: 2300/189

## HUNGARY

### RAJK DISCUSSES PEACE MOVEMENT, INTELLECTUALS, ECONOMIC REFORM

Brussels LE VIF in French 24 Nov 83 pp 57-58

[Article by Jean-Paul Vankeerberghen: "Pacifists of All Countries" and interview with Laszlo Rajk, a Hungarian dissident, by Jean-Paul Vankeerberghen, in Milan; time of interview not specified]

#### Failure of a Tactic

One of the principal representatives of that opposition, Laszlo Rajk, was present at the Milan meeting. He summed up the situation in Hungary for us. An architect and the son of a Communist leader who was executed in 1949 as a result of one of the first postwar Stalinist trials, Laszlo Rajk lives in Hungary today despite increasingly invasive police harassment.

Laszlo Rajk: As a result of police intimidation, one of the main pacifist groups, Dialogus, announced that it would dissolve after one last action at the end of October. But in practice, its militants are continuing their activities, which are in a sense more radical. What happened was that those who were opposed tactically to a break with the authorities left the movement when they were harassed by the police.

In opposition circles there were a lot of us who did not believe in the effectiveness of that tactic. When one removes oneself from official paths, one gets the label of dissident. But those pacifists were really independent and were tackling important questions.

You find another pacifist current in the Catholic-based communities, which are campaigning for conscientious objection, which is not admitted in Hungary. About 150 youths are imprisoned for refusing military service. Others, who finally allowed themselves to be enlisted, have been sent to disciplinary battalions. Unfortunately, the Catholic hierarchy does not support these basic communities. I don't understand why the Vatican is refusing to support them.

[Question] Is Hungary losing its reputation for liberalism?

Laszlo Rajk: Compared to Poland or Czechoslovakia, it is true that our regime is more liberal. But it isn't evolving in the right direction. The liberalization of the economy, notably the right to create private enterprise, is accompanied by a turn of the screw in the direction of the intellectuals. They prohibited films, books, even artists who were out of favor. Among other reasons, undoubtedly the government wants to prove to the Russians that it is capable of controlling the situation.

[Question] Does not the relative prosperity of the Hungarian economy favor the population's supporting the regime?

Laszlo Rajk: Hungary is at about the same point in that respect that Western Europe was at the beginning of the 1960s: everybody is running after money. Since permission was given to create small businesses, people have been working like madmen, without allowing themselves time to think. In that sense, they are supporting--or putting up with--the government.

But morale is low. In the factories, the quality of the work still leaves a lot to be desired. Even those who have created small businesses give the impression that they don't believe in it for the long term. In private restaurants, for example, the waiters are no more polished than they were before. People try above all to make a maximum amount of money as fast as possible. To me, this is an indication that the people have no confidence in the government.

[Question] What do you think of the Western pacifists?

Laszlo Rajk: Peace is their priority because they think it is their duty. I sympathize profoundly with them. The unfortunate thing is that peace slogans are devalued in the East, because the official committees are just the government's driving belts. Their slogans, they're jokes. It is the same with human rights in the West: when Mr Reagan becomes their champion, who can believe it?

8946

CSO: 3619/19



DECREE ON QUALIFICATIONS FOR CIVIL DEFENSE POSTS

Budapest MAGYAR KOZLONY in Hungarian No 48, 20 Oct 83 pp 753-754

[Decree of the Minister of Defense No 2/1983 (20 Oct) HM, on Qualifications for Civil Defense Post]

[Text] On authority delegated by the Council of Ministers and in agreement with the ministers and other central-agency heads concerned, I hereby decree the following:

Section 1

1. This decree applies to persons in the following posts:
  - a. Full-time chiefs of civil defense staffs, civil defense organizers and instructors;
  - b. Part-time chiefs of civil defense staffs at plants in category I;
  - c. Part-time chiefs of civil defense staffs at plants in category II, provided the branch ministry or other central agency supervising the employer or cooperative (hereinafter the employer) requires the persons in such posts to complete a civil defense course and to pass a special examination (hereinafter jointly: civil defense posts).
2. The provisions of this decree do not apply to workers in civil defense or antiaircraft defense posts within the armed forces and corps, the police, and their budgetary organs and plants.

Section 2

1. At least secondary education, completion of the civil defense course, and the passing of the civil defense special examination are required for civil defense posts.
2. If the worker in a civil defense post (hereinafter the worker) does not have his civil defense special examination when he is hired, on the employer's instructions he must enroll in the civil defense course within one year, and pass the civil defense special examination within three years from the commencement of his employment.

Section 3

1. The civil defense special examination is administered by the Civil Defense Training Center (Polgari Vedelmi Kikepzo Kozpont), after a six-month residence course or 18-month correspondence course. The Civil Defense National Command determines the curriculum of the courses.
2. The civil defense special examination consists of a written and of an oral examination.

3. The subjects of the civil defense special examination are: (a) political science, (b) public administration and law, and (c) civil defense.
4. The commander of the Civil Defense Training Center may exempt college and university graduates from taking the examination in certain subjects.

#### Section 4

1. A five-member board of examiners administers the civil defense special examination.
2. Upon the completion of the civil defense course, the chief of the National Civil Defense Staff appoints the chairman and members of the board of examiners and ensures that the Civil Defense National Command and the branch ministry (or other central agency) supervising the employer are represented on the board of examiners.
3. For administering the special examination the chairman and members of the board of examiners are entitled to remuneration, except if they are on the staff of Civil Defense Training Center.

#### Section 5

1. The worker who passes the special examination is awarded a certificate.
2. The worker who fails the special examination may repeat it. He may apply for the repeated examination after six months from the unsuccessful examination.
3. The examination may be repeated at most twice.
4. The worker who fails even his second repeated examination may no longer be employed in a civil defense post.

#### Section 6

The branch ministry (or other central agency) supervising the employer may:

- a. Grant the worker at most a one-year extension to fulfill his obligation pursuant to Section 2, Paragraph 2;
- b. Exempt workers who are college or university graduates from completing the civil defense course and taking the special examination.

#### Section 7

The following are exempt from completing the civil defense course and taking the special examination:

- a. Persons who have been in civil defense posts more than 10 years;
- b. Persons who have completed the residence or correspondence course for civil defense staff chiefs at the Civil Defense Training Center, have passed the examination there and have been employed in civil defense posts at least 5 years;
- c. Persons who are over 45 when this decree becomes effective.

#### Section 8

Workers taking the civil defense course are entitled to the benefits specified in decree of the State Office of Wages and Labor Affairs No 6/1981 (29 Dec).

#### Section 9

The examination fee is paid by the employer. The fee for a repeated examination is borne by the worker.

#### Section 10

This decree becomes effective the day of its promulgation.

OASIS MOVEMENT FOUNDER CHASTISED

Warsaw PERSPEKTYWY in Polish No 47, 25 Nov 83 pp 18, 19

[Article by Jacek Wilamowski: "Father Blachnicki's New Incarnation; Concerning a Certain Emigration"]

[Text] The blatant publicity of Radio Free Europe and Voice of America that has accompanied the emigre proceedings of Father Blachnicki for some time indicates that the political circles in the West that are not favorably inclined toward the Polish authorities attach to his person specific, future goals. Most generally, it can be said that they serve to prepare the proper ground for a subsequent propaganda offensive against our country.

Thus, a new defender of the Polish reason of state is being created in the West, an exponent of the "most secret desires" of Polish society, identifying these desires with political concepts that have been already compromised. Even to a casual observer, the position taken by Father Blachnicki and his "friends" appear to be so far-out as to be unreal; unfortunately, it is a fact.

Animator of the Oasis Movement

Father Blachnicki's life history is not an ordinary one and has already assumed quite a distinct outline a long time ago. Even while in Poland, today's emigrant led an active life. After receiving Holy Orders and theological training at Lublin's Catholic University, he devoted himself passionately to organizing a political movement, an alternative to the communist party. He selected a group that he thought would be easiest to mold in a given direction--young people. Today, from the perspective of many years, it can be said that the goal of these endeavors was quite transparent. It concerned the preparation of a disciplined cadre of activists for the new movement. At 2-week recreation vacation camps, used supposedly for retreats and improving knowledge of the dogmas of the faith, the participants were inculcated with political material, fed

existential propaganda and offered a prepared program of liberation from "dependence" or the "imposed inevitability of life." Very quickly the oases ceased to serve only religious-moral training, to become only a more attractive form of youth ministry. In fact they were protective coloring for the real nature of the entire project: the indoctrination of young people with substance of an antistate character.

However, the church authorities did not cease to hold a protective umbrella over Father Blachnicki's activities. Before long he was even entrusted with the effective-sounding function of national moderator of the Oasis movement. For this helping hand, Father Blachnicki applied himself even more energetically to activity designed to create an independent movement, now in a new formula, that is, serving defenders that are more involved in the social activity of the so-called new church that "hauls on its barges the burden of all the problems under which our brothers perished." Expansive prospects unfolded before the Oasis movement, as well as a generous account with financial centers, without which, as the Father Professor acknowledged personally, the defense of religiosity, which is declining here and there, would not be possible. After August 1980, sensing an opportune state of affairs, he initiated a movement that in the future would fulfill the role of a Christian Democratic political party. In the program document of the newly formed movement, he almost openly speaks of the need for the church to be involved openly in politics and to struggle against the socialist state.

#### Will a Polish Radio Station Arise in Carlsberg?

Almost the day before martial law was announced in Poland, Father Blachnicki went abroad. He found strong support in those centers that would provide a suitable shield for all his activities to date. His position among the political emigres of the most recent vintage, who take advantage of any occasion for revenge, was quickly solidified by virtue of his interviews in the press and on the radio, which included an endless flow of accusations against the government, and about martial law and all those responsible for it.

Very quickly this furor also brought Father Blachnicki to the Polish radio station of Radio Free Europe. The guest did not conceal the fact that he was interested in having his views transmitted to Poland as widely as possible. Just as important in his permanent influence on Western public opinion because it can bear fruit in the form of measurable support. Naturally, one thinks about the powerful effect on the political situation in Poland, but in this case it means nothing to Father Blachnicki as to who will help him in this.

After leaving Poland, Father Blachnicki lived initially in Tivoli, near Rome. He obtained a villa (from whom?) for his exclusive use that was well equipped, including the most modern printing equipment. Very shortly it became a center of activity, but not in the service of God; instead it was a point of contact for specialists in ideological subversion.

The villa itself--and this was easily established--was a building that in the past had served the activists of representatives of the Christian Democratic party emigration in diversionary operations for a long time.

An interesting light that was shed on the real nature of the center that Father Blachnicki operated in Tivoli is the fact that his "right hand," a Czeslaw Lukomski, was falsely claimed to be the pastor of one of Bielsko-Biala's parishes, and elsewhere to be a bishop persecuted by the Polish authorities for sympathizing with Solidarity (that is, he is not an ordained priest). Passing himself off as such officially, he collected money for unspecified purposes from among Italians and Poles living in Italy. The unmasking of Lukomski's deceptions compromised his protectors and also directly exposed their future plans. They intended to send Lukomski to Canada and the USA on a confidential mission. His goal was to have been to provide the Polish political emigre communities new data and to draw them to the "Christian Service for Help to Poland; Truth and Liberation" movement that was headed by Father Blachnicki. The nature of this movement was quite obvious. In an interview for LITTERAE COMMUNIONIS in February 1982, Father Blachnicki stated bluntly: "It can be said that we follow Solidarity, and we will aid it in its activity, accomodating the activists and studying the ideological motives for action. For example, we would like to start a school for Solidarity cadres; now we want to create it abroad."

In this document Blachnicki reveals that "the revolution of Poland's Solidarity will become a model which will point the way to a great social revolution in the other captive nations of East-Central Europe and in the Soviet Union." Let us add here that the aim of this revolution is to demolish the structural realities in the socialist countries. This trend of Father Blachnicki's thoughts, which is in complete agreement with the policies of the most reactionary centers in the West, is proof of how hate obscures common sense. He is an advocate of huge upheavals in our region of the world, and he is not interested in the tragic results this scenario will bring to Poland. The lack of realism here and of an understanding of the elementary interests of our country is surprising.

Some social organizations began to view Blachnicki's activities as the manifestations of ordinary political adventurism, and the Lukomski incident caused him to move from Italy to the FRG, where settled in Carlsberg on the Thine--Palantine, thanks to the help of close relatives who are West German citizens. The newcomer quickly and adroitly adapted the old Marist creche to his own needs. He created a modern center for political action. A first visit to Father Blachnicki's sanctuary must confirm the conviction that he certainly could not be the embodiment of the idea of a poor church. The vast building is equipped with a recording studio, an archive, library, conference hall and a print shop with a large warehouse in a separate location with a special auto ramp, and makes quite an impression. All of it worth a couple of million marks. There are those who do not worry about money.

In addition, Father Blachnicki's center has comfortably furnished guest quarters, and in fact there is no shortage of guests here. Also, the Father Professor has ordered a further expansion of the facilities. He dreams about starting his own radio station having a wide range (Czechoslovakia, Poland) and a television studio. Blachnicki boasted about his projects, not concealing that he has the support of certain political circles in the FRG and of the proper church authorities. What kind? He was not more specific. It is difficult to explain all this other than as a promotion of a loudly advertised spectacle by those circles having large financial resources who are always eager to underwrite all initiatives having an anticommunist accent. The institutions that are professionally involved in psychological warfare against socialist countries expanded their protection over Father Blachnicki's activities. One of them is the American organization Western Goals, which also eagerly undertakes subversive inspirations against the countries of Eastern Europe. A certain curiosity is the fact that Father Blachnicki also maintains contacts with clergy involved in the Ustashi movement against socialist Yugoslavia.

#### In Search of Allies

An association called the "Christian Service for the Liberation of Nations" (Ch.S.W.N.) was formed by Father Blachnicki in the FRG on 17 June 1982. The emigre publication WIADOMOSCI POLSKIE, published in Stockholm, informed its readers that "this association was formed in the Polish community but desires to become in the future an international association operating in many countries."

The specific tasks of this "service," which is aspiring to obtain a dominant influence in the political situation in the Eastern Bloc, are: "extending and defending the Truth" (which means voicing anticommunist substances) via their own information agency; influencing public opinion as well as influential institutions, organizations and individuals "in the spirit of liberation" through "Truth and Love"; and cooperating with all movements, missions, organizations who aim "toward those same or similar goals." Let us add that the slogan "Unifying Christian Europe" that is publicized so eagerly by Blachnicki means, in the light of his arguments, an alliance with all groups of political renegades in the socialist countries of Europe based on the negation of the post-Yalta order.

At the initiative of the Ch.S.W.N., a so-called symposium of Polish "freedom" organizations in the West was held at the end of August of this year in Carlsberg. Various Solidarity emigre groups, among others, accepted Father Blachnicki's invitation. Of course there was no lack of such welcome personalities as Johannes Marczuk of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement. It can be summed up most generally by saying that the nature and tone of the statements of the meeting's participants were consistent above all in the vehemence of the attacks against the USSR, and concerning Polish affairs, the dominant tendency was to deprecate all the social and political accomplishments of People's Poland. Poland's



territorial stability, its ethnic unity and development program are for these gentlemen strictly an object of mockery. The plans were described as reviving antiquated political concepts which in the past have at times led Poland into the blind alley of history.

The symposium attendees at Carlsberg postulated the need to find new "supranational" forms of struggle against the socialist system. In the specific guidelines, they recommended that "national opposition groups" be created and "direct liberation action" be taken in the socialist countries, knocking once more on Washington's door to convince the American authorities that the ideological struggle with the communist system is of key significance. The aim is also postulated of obtaining international sanctions, based on the military potential of the USA, for "liberation" actions in the Eastern Bloc. The fact that this will not serve peace in the world does not seem to bother any of them.

The "nail of the program" of the Carlsberg meeting was the Father Blachnicki's widely disseminated paper which indicated that the support of the Catholic Church is necessary for "liberation" actions on Polish territory. This document and others similar to it imply the obvious hope of setting the church hierarchy at odds with state authorities, which is confirmed by Blachnicki's rehashed dogmas that the Catholic Church--faithful to its principles--cannot function in a communist system, and no historically conditioned system lasts forever.

So that no one in the West will think that the slogan of the alliance of anticommunist emigre groups against the USSR and other socialist countries is merely a lot of noise, Father Blachnicki and his collaborating editor, Jerzy Iranek-Osmecki, made direct working contact with the emigrant Czech political group called "Opus Bonum" and Miroslaw Styranek and Johannes Marczuk's Ukrainian Liberation Front to "exchange experiences concerning their struggles." Anyway, especially large attention is devoted to the wooing of this latter group, even drawing up a map at the conference table of a new political division of Europe. As can be seen, history has not taught these gentlemen too much.

The signatories of the so-called Carlsberg Agreement are attempting to give their activities all the characteristics of a significant political movement. However, the results remain to be seen. Interest in this entire undertaking by Western public opinion is rather small. Thus, the widely publicized "Peace March for the Liberation of the Subjugated Nations of Eastern Europe" (incidentally, 17 are named), which in the opinion of the initiators was supposed to produce extensive propaganda resonance and assure a further flow of funds, turned out to be a wash-out. The entire spectacle, in planning for a long time by Father Blachnicki and delayed several times because of "insufficient organizational preparations, insufficient activation of the emigre communities, and too few notifications of participation," was held from 26-28 August at the Carlsberg-Hambach castle mall. But instead of the expected crowds, only a small, though noisy, group of enthusiasts attended. The complete lack of interest of the emigre community, the local population and the mass media



was very obvious. One could count the participants without difficulty. There were less than 100, including 30 organizers. Of the invited journalists, only a representative of Radio Free Europe attended, and their disappointment was difficult to hide. It is not known if subsequent similar spectacles will produce results because there are fewer people that are eager to be laughed at publicly after the last flop. However, it is known that Franciszek Blachnicki, completely possessed with the idea of struggling against socialist Poland, will not stop his activity, regardless of the form it takes.

11899

CSO: 2600/382

REPORTS-ELECTIONS CAMPAIGN RULES ISSUED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 22, 26 Oct 83 pp 12, 13

[Article by Witold Glowacki]

[Text] The Central Committee of the PZPR adopted at the 13th Plenum on 15 October 1983 the following documents: "Resolution on conducting elections in basic, factory, gmina, city-gmina, city, city district and voivodship organizations of the PZPR in 1983-84"; "Temporary regulations for the elections of delegates, authorities and control organs in basic, factory, gmina, city-gmina, city and city district organizations of the PZPR and election of authorities and control organs in voivodship party organizations."

The Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee adopted "Instructions on meetings and elections conferences in the PZPR in 1983-84."

In accordance with the PZPR Statute based on these documents, there will be instituted into the party an election campaign starting with party groups and ending with voivodship organizations. These documents will define ideological and political contents, organizational assumptions for the election campaign and principles for the election of delegates, authorities and control organs.

In order to assist secretaries and POP/OOP [basic/branch party organization] executives in their preparation and execution of the election, we are printing here the methods and principles required.

The goal of the election meeting is:

--to carry out the tasks for POP's resulting from resolutions passed by the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, plenary sessions of the Central Committee and committees at lower levels;

--to estimate the implementation of results and resolutions adopted by POP's at election meetings;

--to adopt resolutions, a program of action and conclusions for the next term of office as regards tasks resulting from the Central Committee's Politburo;

--election of a new executive;

--election of delegates to the reports-election conference, at the gmina level or its equivalent.

The responsibility to prepare the reports-election meetings rests in the hands of the executive who should:

--before the meeting evaluate the implementation state of POP resolutions during the term of office;

--prepare a report that will be the basic document evaluating the work of a POP and its executive.

In accordance with instructions from the Politburo, each POP should evaluate:

--its political and organizational value and activity in the community;

--ties to personnel and activity in resolving daily problems at work and in the life of work groups;

--cooperation with the administration of the plant or institution; removal of administrative personnel from the professional and individual obligations of party tasks;

--POP cooperation with workers' self-government and trade unions as well as with party members active in them; estimation of the membership of party members in trade unions under the banner: "every party member a member of the union";

--cooperation and help in strengthening the position and importance of the youth organization in the plant and the active role of party members and candidates in it;

--activity of party members in PRON, women's organizations, social organizations and social work organizations at the workplace;

--the effects of ideological work and education among party members and candidates;

--ideological involvement and the moral attitude of party members and candidates.

## Reports

Reports should evaluate the implementation of one's own resolutions and tasks from those resolutions as well as give out information on the implementation of every function of the party organization: inspiration, control, education and organization.

The reports should contain all initiatives and POP proposals concerning production and professional problems as well as issues tied to internal activities in the organization. It is necessary to provide information on useful forms of control as well as of concrete achievements in production, socioliving and political effects.

As regards long-term tasks, when definitive results cannot yet be discerned, one should project the degree of their advance and prospects for achievement.

The portion of the report concerning the implementation of education should include field work with candidates, tasks on party education, forms of work necessary to prepare non-party people to become PZPR members and methodology for propaganda and agitation in order to implement socioproduction and political goals. A great deal of pressure should be employed in order to satisfy party members for outstanding work and political activity.

The portion of the report concerning organizational functions should contain information on the qualitative and quantitative development of party organizations and problems tied to them.

The report should avoid an excess of production indicators and problems associated with production. The representative of the plant administration should provide information on these matters during discussion.

The report--prior to submission to the party meeting--must be approved by the party executive. In the case of the POP, where there is no executive, a secretary should turn the report over directly to the party meeting.

In addition to preparing an executive report, before the meeting the POP also should:

- discuss and establish a position on personnel matters that have to be expressed at the meeting: acceptance of new party members, division of resolutions, expression of opinion, evaluation of party tasks and so forth;

- name persons responsible for the meeting's organizational preparation; establish a deadline, order and a place for the meeting;

- propose subjects that should be discussed among party members before the meeting.

It would be good during individual discussions to encourage others to prepare themselves for discussion. This does not concern orchestrating the

discussion, but rather it means getting ready mentally for the discussions that will ensue at the meeting.

#### The Meeting

Upon the establishment of the meeting's deadline, party members should be duly informed so that they can start to prepare themselves for it.

All party members and candidates from a given POP/OOP, representatives of party authorities and invited guests will take part in the meeting. The number of invited guests should not exceed one-fourth of the POP members.

The right to vote at the meeting will be held only by members of a given POP. Party candidates, representatives of party authorities and invited guests will have the right to an advisory vote.

The chairman elected in an open vote will conduct the meeting. A presidium of several persons can be elected by larger POP's.

Important is the meeting's atmosphere, upon which the chairman's actions will have an enormous influence; a haphazard individual cannot lead the meeting. A candidate for the chairmanship should know the regulations well and possess skill in conducting meetings, so that they take place in accordance with the regulations and desires of the Central Committee.

The regulations bring order to the proceedings which should be concerned with:

- a) reports on the activities of POP's and their executives,
- b) discussion,
- c) election of executives and delegates to the conference,
- d) adoption of program resolutions.

In a POP with a large number of members, so as to guarantee the participation of the most optimum number of members in the discussion, a portion of the discussion can be conducted in problem groups.

It is called for that the discussants vote immediately after the presentation of the report. This will provide for better use of time. People gaining votes should finish their presentation with concrete conclusions. Discussion cannot be an art in itself, especially an empty and subjectless one.

The meetings of large POP's can elect:

- a) a motions commission--to work out submitted motions and proposals for resolutions or plans of action,

b) a mandate commission--to confirm the presence of a quorum of members based upon attendance lists (over 50 percent of the party members must be present for a quorum),

c) an election commission--to present candidates for executive and delegate positions.

Commissions will not be formed in organizations having few members. The meeting chairman will fulfill their functions.

### Elections

Each member of the party in a given POP can elect and be elected.

The meeting chooses in a secret election the executive and delegates to a gmina-level or equivalent conference. The meeting will decide on the manner of election.

In basic party organizations whose membership is smaller than expected by representative norms, the election of delegates will take place at a general meeting of joined POP's. The executive of the gmina-level or equivalent committee will decide on this issue.

The executive of a POP can be composed of 3 members in organizations having up to 15 party members or candidates; up to 7 members in organizations having from 16 to 100 members or candidates and up to 11 members in organizations having more than 100 party members or candidates.

The POP meeting delineates the number of members of the executive.

The number of secretaries depends on the size of the POP, i.e., one secretary for one to three members.

The number of delegates at a plant, gmina or equivalent conference depends on the representative norms specified by the plant, gmina or equivalent committee.

Election of candidates is dependent on the following principles:

--The meeting defines the number of candidates for executive or delegate positions. It must raise the number of elected people.

--Party members nominate candidates for election. One comrade cannot nominate more than one candidate.

--The invited guests and party candidates have the right to an advisory vote on candidates for election.

--Each candidate should be motivated.

--Prior to being placed on the election list, each candidate must agree to candidacy.

--If a candidate nominated for election either individually or by a commission is opposed to candidacy, then party members are placed on the election list after discussion and vote. Those candidates who are nominated and do not oppose their nomination for election are placed on the election list without a preceding vote.

--Thereafter, a list for election is prepared. This includes election of the executive and delegates to county and governmental conferences.

--Each election list is prepared in alphabetical order.

--After preparation of the list of candidates, the meeting votes in an open vote for a scrutinizing commission. Its membership cannot include anyone vying for election as an executive or delegate. The meeting defines the number of commission members.

--The tasks of the scrutinizing commission are to prepare a voters' list and conduct the voting. After conducting the voting, the scrutinizing commission counts the votes and prepares the protocol.

--A scrutinizing commission is not elected in basic party organizations having a small number of members. The chairman or another meeting participant certifies the election results. The election results then are included in the meeting protocol.

--Voting takes place from the list of candidates.

--Those who have obtained the largest number and over 50 percent of the votes are elected to the executive and as delegates. The number of members of the executive must be equal to the number specified above in the resolution. The winners of executive and delegate positions will be listed alphabetically in the election results.

If the number of votes does not elect enough executive or delegate members as specified earlier, there will be another election to complete the membership. Fifty percent more candidates than positions to be filled will occur to complete the roster.

A vote is considered to be invalid if the voter returns a card that:

--is incomplete; or

--selects more candidates than are allowed in the election.

After conducting the election, the scrutinizing commission counts the votes and prepares the protocol.



All members of the scrutinizing commission sign the protocol. The commission presents the report to the meeting, stating the number of votes for each candidate and the name of those elected to executive and delegate positions. Candidates not elected at the meeting are not taken into consideration when counting votes.

The newly elected executive or POP secretary maintains all documentation (election lists, commission reports, meeting protocol) for the next reports-election meeting.

The audit commission determines cases where there are doubts about POP elections' accordance with the regulations. The voivodship executive committee confirms the validity of elections.

The first meeting of the newly elected executive is conducted by the meeting's chairman. It specifies the names proposed for the position of first secretary. The number of candidates is set by the meeting.

The POP first secretary is elected in a secret vote. The scrutinizing commission conducts the election.

The POP secretary is elected from among the executive and supported by the first secretary.

Secretaries of basic and branch party organizations should be party members with at least 3 years of service.

#### Program of Action

In accordance with the desires of the Politburo concerning meetings and reports-elections conferences in the PZPR, the basic party organizations have to adopt the program of action specified by the new term of office.

The activity of the basic and branch party organizations to a large degree depends on the success of the adopted program. POP's independently program their work based upon the resolutions of the Central Committee congress and smaller party committees as well as on the needs resulting from the local conditions in which they act.

Particularly fundamental is the adoption in all POP programs of the issues and problems affecting the community, the solution of difficult matters, the support of all justifiable initiatives and quick reaction to injustices. The program should be enriched by the new proposals and conclusions expressed during the reports-elections campaign. All members and candidates should take part in the creation of the program. However, the executive is primarily responsible for preparing the program. The conclusions made by non-party members of the plant work force also should be taken into consideration. This strengthens POP ties with the work force and allows non-party members to participate in the implementation of the POP program.

The first actions of the newly elected executive and first secretary of the POP depend on the following:

--introduction of the report protocol;

--acceptance of party documents from the preceding executive, namely: lists of members and candidates, lists of party subscriptions, resolutions, registration of motions, protocols from POP meetings and executive sessions, reports, evaluations, information worked out for the needs of POP's and the smaller committees;

--recognition of POP resolutions adopted by preceding terms of office and committees. Resolutions and conclusions not carried out by preceding executives--either justifiably or as a matter of course--must be adopted by the new term of office;

--conduct of an analysis of the motions expressed during the course of the reports-elections campaign;

--working out of a plan for work by the POP and its executive guaranteeing the implementation of the program adopted by the reports-elections meeting, specification of the tasks for POP activity;

--division of obligations among executive members and those who serve them; the number of activists should be increased with increasing POP tasks;

--adoption of a program for party education and placement of people responsible for its organization;

--division of individual tasks between candidates and members;

--recognition of the problems and principal socioproduction tasks of the plant;

--establishment of contacts with plant authorities and recognition of the activities of self-government, trade unions, PRON, youth organizations, women's movement and other social and socioprofessional organizations as well as definition of the tasks of party members active in these organizations.

The above list of actions is not complete or exhausted. However, it is necessary in the first period of activity for the newly elected executive.

9807

CSO: 2600/362

PROVINCIAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

Kielce Province Party Resolution

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 21 Oct 83 p 4

[Resolution of the Kielce Provincial Committee of the PZPR]

[Text] The provincial committee states that a consistent realization of the Ninth Congress's resolutions, as well as those of the Provincial Reports-Elections Committee and report program conferences, constitute the basis for actions aiming to eliminate the effects of the crisis and also improve the difficult conditions of national welfare.

At the transition of 1983-1984, after the present administration's 2-1/2-year term in office, in accordance with the statute, reports-elections meetings and conferences will be conducted at all party organizations up to and including the provincial level. It should be acknowledged that the most important assignments for the reports-elections campaign should be:

--to conduct a comprehensive evaluation of the Ninth Congress resolution's completed assignments as well as the resolutions and proposals submitted by echelons and party organizations;

--evaluation of the system and results attained by party members assigned to individual centers, plants and establishments;

--a thorough reanalysis of the increase in party ranks, especially in the labor sector, peasant circles and youth groups;

--review of the political solidity of party organizations, evaluation of achievements resulting from the efforts made in ideologic and educational programs, discipline of party members, their ideological involvement and moral attitudes.

Basic party organizations [POP] at the reports-election meetings will conduct an appraisal of the conditions within their membership and of their activities. They will evaluate the efforts and involvement of party members in the ongoing political struggle. Cooperation of the administration leaderships with the workers' self-governments and labor unions within establishments and institutions

will also be scrutinized. In evaluations, attention must be given to administrative staff performance in the discharge of their duties and the handling of each party obligation in their assigned areas. The reports-elections meetings will thoroughly analyze the degree of allegiance party members display to union organizations and will charge party members to actively participate in their movement.

At the conferences of institutions, gminas, city-gmina, city-province, evaluations should include the methods and effectiveness of committees and their executive boards as well as commissions controlling party discipline, investigation commissions, problem commissions and the work with activists.

--Strive for more adaptable and suitable party echelon work plans adjusted to the new sociopolitical conditions in their respective districts and for consistent definitions of projects in specific areas.

--We should attempt to have experienced comrades, laborers and young people who demonstrate a strong feeling and responsibility for the fate of the party and country, included in the newly elected body of the party's leadership.

--Reports-elections meetings and conferences will evaluate the work of party workers serving in the Sejm, national councils, offices of citizens' self-governments, social organizations and in the offices of social supervision.

--The provincial committee obligates the executive branch of the Central Committee to develop a detailed set of procedures which would assure efficient management of the reports-election campaign, with allowances taken into consideration for the work assigned to party organizations operating at individual sociovocational centers.

The provincial committee recognizes the fact that in future internal activities directed toward the effective elimination of surfacing weaknesses and strengthening the gains of socialism, indispensable are: the consolidation of ideological, organizational and political unities of all party divisions, activation of all PZPR members, improvements in performance qualities of POP and the echelons, finding more effective procedures and methods to attain a closer association of the party with the working class and all working people.

Attainment of These Goals Requires Consistent Achievement of the Following Assignments:

--restore the POP to its rightful standing, mainly through improvements of internal discipline, systematic fulfillment of the resolutions of higher echelons and their own, control in the execution of individual party assignments;

--make the labor character of our party secure and recruit into our ranks desirable workers distinguished in their professional and social work. Organizations and echelon administrations in the attempt to bring independent workers closer to the PZPR's problems will undertake the development of open party meetings and seminars to induce their participation in problem-solving teamwork, maintain a direct partnership cooperation with members of youth organizations;

--appropriate educational and instructive work with candidates, which is an obligation of the party organization and the sponsoring individuals;

--observance of party rank purity rests with each party member, organization and echelon as well as the regulatory commissions;

--proper completion of educational requirements by the party divisions based upon reliable evaluations of political attitude, the attainments in vocational achievements and social work by each member regardless of his classification and duties performed;

--creating conditions for the general involvement of working people in the political and socioeconomic life of our province; active participation in programs of the reviving trade unions, a proper position for the workers' self-governments in institutional managements, cooperation of the party cells with social organizations, youth groups, organs of territorial self-governments and associations, support for PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] activities and the mass involvement of party members in divisional activities of this movement in work establishments and rural centers;

--bring about a logical fulfillment of the Central Committee resolution concerning the matter of settling proposals and complaints presented to the party echelons.

In the attempt for a more adequate dissemination of party influence to the various sociovocational centers, the city-rural and gmina echelons will concentrate their main efforts to insure the party's impact at the villages in which POP's have not as yet been established. Efforts intended to create PZPR branches should be concentrated in the direction of youth organization members.

Recognizing the fact that one of the most serious problems of echelon and party organization functions is the difficulty of dealing with staff personnel, the provincial committee stated that there is an urgent need for the development of an appropriate working arrangement with them. With this in mind, the departments of personnel and political organization, within the term ending in 1983, will develop a uniform system for training and preparing staffs and staff reserves for work in party and econoadministrative organs.

A significant role in the forming of public opinion, the strengthening of party authority in all areas of its activities and for the attraction of the widest possible segments of the public for the realization of the party and government program for combatting the crisis, is as a matter of fact, being accomplished by ongoing propaganda, most effectively, by that conducted in the media of mass communication. The provincial committee makes all party organizations and members, especially those involved in the party newspaper, SLOWO LUDU, Polish Radio and the institution networks, responsible for covering the subjects of party daily and echelon occurrences in a broader scope.

With the approaching 35th anniversary of PZPR's founding and unification of the labor movement, party echelons and organizations will take advantage of

the occasion to stimulate party members by utilizing as a support the rich background of experience and tradition in their propaganda efforts, especially where it concerns the younger generation.

Kielce, 6 Oct 83.

#### Opole Party Reports-Elections Campaign

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 21 Oct 83 pp 1, 3

[Text] In compliance with the decision of this year's PZPR Central Committee's reports-elections campaign, the party will conduct a thorough evaluation of results attained by the assignments prescribed in the resolutions of the Ninth Congress. The party organizations and echelons will also assume work programs for the next term in office and elect new officers. As a result of the efficient proceeding of this year's reports-elections campaign, the party should be stronger, activities of all its members and party candidates should increase, expand and bolster the leadership and guiding role of the party, the public and nation, deepening and fortifying its attachments with the working class. The econo-organizational campaign concepts additionally anticipate an appraisal of results attained by party assignments in social and economic areas, in the inculcations of economic reforms and improvements in living conditions.

The reports-elections campaign which will terminate next year at the National Party Conference should contribute to additional reinforcement and increase of party activities in all its divisions and members, the strengthening of its attachments with society and elicit additional support of POP and echelon staffs. This, then, will enable the elected teams to consequently realize the Ninth Congress's program in the actual sociopolitical situation. The campaign should also have an effect in improving the state of public awareness, uplifting work discipline and proper development of conditions for interaction which would affect an appropriate atmosphere, and also reinforcing the character of the socialist economy in its present condition of economic reform.

In PZPR Central Committee's approved "Organizational Plan for Preparations and Completions of the Opole Province Reports-Elections Campaign," it is conclusive that all political and organizational activities should serve to normalize sociopolitical existence, reinforce party organizational activities, expand responsibilities and involvements of party members in the execution of party resolutions within their territories and the further tightening of party, social and production disciplines.

Following this point in proceedings, the Executive Board of Opole Provincial Committee of the PZPR was briefed on the results of the Opole Province renewal of control accomplished by the Central Territorial Inspection.



## Kielce Party Campaign

Sielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 22-23 Oct 83 p 2

[Article by KOS]

[Text] Yesterday the Kielce KM [City Committee] of the PZPR convened a plenum at which a plan was approved for the political and economic preparations of the reports-elections campaign for the city's party organization. The first secretary of PZPR KW [Provincial Committee] for Kielce, Maciej Lubczynski, was present.

Opening the deliberations, KM First Secretary Zdzislaw Skowron familiarized the group with the city's sociopolitical and economic condition, underscoring the process of stabilization. Next, KM First Secretary Leon Szafarz recalled the memory of the labor activist whose name was written into the KM Book of Honor. A minute of silence honored his memory.

The referendum of the KM executive board containing the reports-elections campaign plan of the city's party organizations was presented by the KM Secretary Marek Wojtasiewicz. This campaign will be launched as early as September and is to be concluded at the city conference at the end of this December. The purpose of this campaign is to further strengthen the party leadership and reinforce socioeconomic stability on the basis of the national agreement through a meaningful incorporation of economic reform, to affect the principles of social justice and concern for the welfare of the working people.

In the largest party organizations in Kielce, the reports-elections campaign will terminate on 12 December of this year. During the plant conferences at FSS Polmo SLH [Specialized Vehicle Factory], Chemarze [Industrial Fittings and Chemical Equipment Works], Iskra and the PKP [Polish Staff Railroads] network (and therefore at the places where delegates to the party's Ninth Congress were chosen directly), in addition to the delegates to the city conference, there will also be elected representatives of these plants to the PZPR provincial conference.

In the discussion, the floor was taken by: Karol Mokijewski, Wieslaw Pankowski, Jozef Ochocinski, Henryk Pawlik, Stanislaw Paluch, Aleksander Kalinowski, Izydor Kryszczuk, Marek Wojtasiewicz and Jerzu Leszczynski.

They emphasized the need for a large-scale mobilization of their organizations, considering the short time in which they have to conduct meetings in OOP and POP in addition to their shop conferences. They discussed the campaign preparations.

During the plenum, KW First Secretary Maciej Lubczynski took the floor, advising the participants of the progress in preparations for the reports-elections campaign in the province, strongly emphasizing the importance of this event to the party's existence. The plenum adopted the resolution defining the objectives for party organizational activities during the campaign period.



## Zielona Gora Party Campaign

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 22-23 Oct 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by Zdzislaw Grzyb]

[Text] The 2-1/2-year term of the party authorities is coming to an end. In accordance with the statute, the reports-elections campaign has begun in party group meetings, divisional and basic organizations. It will be terminated at the break of December and January with provincial conferences and later at the national conference of PZPR delegates.

The 13th Plenum of the Central Committee adopted the ideologically motivated precepts of the campaign. The documents are still too fresh to state their content. However, once again it must be emphatically stressed that the party uncompromisingly following the line of the Ninth Congress. There is no turning back from this course. Nothing is accomplished by mere words, intentions or declarations. In spite of the obstacles, the old and the newly arising ones, with determination the party will continue both the initiated economic and social reform procedures and better methods for an efficient government.

The road is difficult and we are only at its beginning. Socioeconomic modifications are not accomplished in a day. It is a long process requiring fortitude, daring, decisiveness and faith in our convictions.

We already know from experience how difficult it is to make even the slightest changes, what resistance innovations bring, even though they were originally asked for. There is plenty of conservatism, in all of us, force of habit in specific principles of work and living. This is especially so when the benefits derived from changes cannot be swift or obvious and will only appear sometime in the future.

At the onset of the campaign, I would like to address my personal reflections to those who will attend meetings and conferences in the near future to discuss matters of state and their own personal problems and to all of those who consider themselves as partners in the socialist renewal. A reports-elections campaign is not merely an internal audit of successes and failures or formulation of assignments, but it is also the evaluation of cooperation between party divisions and all participants involved in the building of our present and future. Its purpose is not only an assessment of the past, but above all, the extraction of conclusions from our experiences, so that the future may be better. You do not just bring about a formal meeting and an election act, but it must be an impulse for further improvements in working and living conditions. For that reason, in my estimation, in our party talks we should concentrate as much as possible on ideological problems, our attitudes toward life, appraise our involvement and efforts made to transform our own environment. To be successful in our attempts to transform others we have to take a look at ourselves with self-criticism. This is necessary, since, modification of social consciousness favorable to the party recovery, in equal measure, involves the total society as well as party members.

We are still constantly beset by many unfavorable occurrences which are hampering and delaying the fruition of the reform program. About some of these just a few short sentences.

Some of us continue to regard the socialistic renewal as mere slogans, doing little to realize its substance, because some people having this notion understand it as only requiring a change of personnel.

Really, this is but a miniscule part of that which we can and must change. Much depends upon people, often the most, since a new supervisor continuing old methods does not hasten modernization. It is, therefore, necessary to classify people according to their work record. Not all who are recommended for a position, and this includes not only party members, perform their duties satisfactorily.

The lack of responsibility is quite prevalent in positions other than just those of top management. Let us then demand discipline from everybody, but first of all, let us personally carry out its demands and let us talk about this openly. Without this sincerity, pointing out faults will proliferate greatly.

We like to criticize others but we do not recognize our own faults. We do not like to talk about them, but this is urgently needed. Unfortunately, criticism of our shortcomings and the people responsible for them is still considered in many circles as befouling one's own nest. Critics are looked upon unsympathetically. Still, the situation remains the same as always. Everyone must begin with making order in his back yard. Without small steps we cannot reach important goals. The role of the activists, organizations and party members is one of developing a climate for constructive criticism, eliminations of unlawful notions, poor workmanship and internal bureaucracy. There is room at our meetings for forthright and explicit discussions of our problems. There is room for argument and the presentation of one's own personal opinions and judgments.

The meeting does not have to be reticent or lifeless. Our lives are filled with myths and half-truths, which, in fact, are tossed our way. In plants and establishments, many problems constantly await explanations and solutions.

In basic organizations, the achievements of their specific resolutions and the productivity, effectiveness and fruits of their members' professional labor have to be evaluated. All administration work has to be reassessed since we now more often encounter signs of self-satisfaction with successes of their efforts justified by the presentation of favorable production figures which, in fact, are actually the results of price increases. It is our responsibility not only to uncover unfavorable occurrences, but also to counteract. We must also counteract feignings of work, which occur very often, if only in the structure of minuscule organizations created at the request of the authorities and which are treated in a corporate manner. After all, national renewal is not a corporate stock, but a prolonged effort to reconstruct the social and economic climate. These problems are joint ones, inseparable, which should be recognized and resolved in a businesslike manner.

We now have, and will continue to have many problems, but that does not mean that we must tolerate stagnation, insensitivity, inefficiency and irresponsibility. Meanwhile, we have noticed a phenomenon, practically a cult of mediocrity, poor workmanship and disregard for regulations. These dangerous and harmful symptoms which have to be exposed and destroyed for the reform. Professing that the intentions are good can be no excuse for them, since in one instance we have a shortage of material and in the other we have people who have to be appeased. Let us complain not only about other people, although that is very easy to do. Let us reflect on how we ourselves are doing.

Suitably, or just any old way? Self-examination of this sort is nothing to be ashamed of.

We are opening this campaign with the awareness of many threats. We realize their consequences, but cannot yield to them. You cannot wait for an opportune time for completion of urgent matters. Life presents us with many tasks that have to be resolved. The party up to this time shows no lack of goodwill and patience in the solving of problems or in pursuing dialogue for agreement and understanding.

There also will be no shortage of consistency for the eradication of any fragmentations of our lifestyle in the drive for its further democratization and in following the principles of social justice. In this campaign, not in only one meeting or conference can we find answers to many vexing questions: How should we proceed in removing the various tumors threatening our social and economic life? How can we conciliate others in a position opposing violations of ethical and moral norms, to combat laziness, speculation and poor management? After all, when the storm subsides, we will still have to conduct a thorough review of our tasks and answer our questions: What kind of people are we? What do we represent? How much can we depend on one another?

Finally, the last reflection. We are the party of leadership sharing in the decisions of the nation's fate with a responsibility for its present and future. At this point a few words are necessary on the matter of responsibility. We do not have to flog ourselves for all mistakes, shortcomings and failures. This has been done in the past with room to spare. No other party on earth did this to itself, either communist or bourgeois. Let us then talk at the meetings about responsibilities in a slightly different manner. Let us not make our party and ourselves responsible for everything. With the large share of work and responsibilities, everyone is burdened with a designated accountability for his line of work, in the factory, institution, national administration, as well as in political, social, professional and self-government organizations. The important thing is that each individual has to be responsible for his segment of work and he should be assured that the performance quality of the national system is dependent on this concept. We, the party, will not give up the right to the general supervision and control of assigned program realizations. We will vehemently fight appearances of lack of responsibility and disregard for it.

This campaign, then, is just a partial evaluation of other than just the party's performance. The intention is to have these activities more fruitful. This requires a consistent adherence to the Ninth Congress's guidelines, continuous modifications in our thinking and procedures, and the uncompromising battle for our just cause.

PROVINCIAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS NOTED

Party Assessment, Recommendations, Tasks

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 22-23 Oct 83 p 1

[Article by Halina Mamok and Krzysztof Kuzniewski]

[Text] The 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee decided to embark on a party reports-elections campaign. The 2.5-year time limit for leaders in the party organization up to and including those at the provincial level coincides in time with the halfway mark in the realization of the program outlined by the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR and confirmed by subsequent plenums of the Central Committee. Therefore, the need to make an honest assessment of these decisions stands before us, as well as the need to answer for ourselves the question: What remains to be done? The competence of further activity of individual party cells and the public assessment of its effects will depend on how discerning and critical this assessment will be both in the area of substance and methods used, for the program of the Ninth Congress, as we were reminded during the course of the plenum, reflects not only the aspirations of party members but the expectations of the entire society. The fundamental concern in discussions at the reports-elections meetings must be the competent drawing of conclusions from the assessment undertaken; at stake is the power of the party and its authority.

Programs which will be adopted in the following term should lead to a full realization of the resolutions of the Ninth Congress. They must proceed from crucial problems of the milieus in which party organizations function. Their concrete nature is extremely important, expressed precisely with prescribed tasks so that every party group and every party member should feel a personal responsibility for their realization. First of all, an objective analysis of needs and a concrete evaluation of possibilities are necessary in order to avoid hollow lip service while drawing up tasks.

The resolution of the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee as concerns the matter of a reports-election campaign stresses its significance in improving life within the party. The object is to raise the talent of each organization and party unit for effectively solving problems of the parent environment. At this point, it might be worthwhile to realize that the responsibility for perceptible results of party organization activities rests on each

comrade personally. It follows, also, that the evaluation undertaken at the meetings and conferences must not reduce itself to only settling accounts with elected officials. Accompanying it should be an open evaluation of party member attitudes and a self-critical reflection of one's own activity in realizing the party's program, the effectiveness of individual activity and the conformity of individual attitudes to statutory requirements. Only such an understanding of the meaning of a campaign will promote the restoration of the full meaning of the word "vanguard." For, this title pledges each member of the Marxist-Leninist party to assume a role of leadership, to a defense of principle and the presentation of our organizational purposes, the party program and policy in every situation and every circle, to an uncompromising struggle with all irregularities in society.

We are conducting the present campaign within particular conditions--we find ourselves on the way to overcoming the socioeconomic crisis. And so, we must answer for ourselves what has been done in particular areas of life, what tasks are still waiting to be tackled and which should be continued. One of the chief obligations of party organizations active in work establishments is rallying staff on the front lines of the struggle for effective management, for greater productivity and production quality. Tasks for members of the party should be formulated according to this criterion in labor self-governments, labor unions and youth organizations, but above all it must be a criterion of the evaluation of obligations met on the job.

A matter which cannot escape attention is that of strengthening the socialist political system, which virtually finds expression in this sort of cooperation between party organizations and all partners in order to harmoniously unite the interests of the work force and those of society in general.

New leaders will emerge from the reports-elections campaign which has begun. A particular responsibility should accompany electoral decisions. In the executive circles of the party organization, people of principle should be found who are ideologically engaged, experienced in organizing party work, sensitive to the concerns of people, to social wrongs and injustice, people who have authority within their milieu. There are many such people in the party. They passed the test in a most difficult ordeal. They are known and respected.

The efficiency of activity in the coming term will depend on the discernment, criticism and sense of responsibility in this party debate. This is a prerequisite for integrating the efforts of society for the benefit of a national understanding, an effective struggle with a political adversary, for social reforms, sociopolitical stabilization and a way out of crisis.

#### Gdansk Party Reports-Elections Campaign

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 24 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by Jerzy Jarkowski]

[Text] The statutory limit for conducting party reports-elections meetings and conferences as well as the convocation of the National Delegates' Conference expires at

the end of this year and the beginning of the next. Consequently, we are standing face to face with a significant political campaign which--especially taking into consideration the nature of present tasks before the party and society--should play an important role.

Reports-elections campaigns have always been significant events in the life of the party. They promoted intensification of appraisals of party work and programming. In the way of staff, they renewed the leadership of party organizations and units. The approaching campaign, conducted for the first time since the Ninth Congress of the PZPR can and should be a real step forward in realizing its main program directives.

With regard to the party itself, this indicates above all a need to take advantage of all the incentives resulting from the decisions of the Ninth Congress for truly assuring the party a Leninist countenance, for strengthening its political-organizational unity, for taking advantage of democratic debate, that powerful instrument in improving party work, for an exchange of views, a critical appraisal of weaknesses, and the presentation of constructive proposals. It is not just a question of debate. It is, above all, a question of giving each comrade the opportunity to make party policy and to take part creatively in the realization of that policy by means of debate.

It is, therefore, extremely important that what members of the party propose in the area of improvement of substance and methods of our work find due response and effect results. Such is also the course of the positive changes which are being made of late, the continuance of which we must further strive for in the upcoming campaign. It is worth recalling, for example, that during a party reports campaign not long ago, party members submitted from the discussion platform and in records 10,700 proposals in all on various matters. The proposals were reviewed by those to whom they were directed: party organization units and leaders striving to make use of the fund of initiatives and suggestions for improvements contained in them. Owing to this, much has been gained. How much? It is worth giving the answer some thought during the coming meetings and conferences.

It is an essential part of internal party tasks connected with the campaign. Its initial announcements have already enlivened many party organizations and units. The state of party work is being appraised, individual evaluations are being made of PZPR activists and members; talks are being conducted with them.

At reports-elections meetings and conferences there is room whether in the circle of party members or of delegates, to have a good look at the arrangement of party power, to evaluate possibilities for the influx of new valuable candidates, especially from among workers, farmers and young people. And likewise, to apply those simple standards of party activity which are: regularity and quality of meetings, the status of party members' realization of tasks entrusted to them, the fulfillment (or insufficient fulfillment) by



them of the requirement to lead in their own circles, their activity in social organizations, unions and self-government, the level of influence of party cells on the attitudes of staff and milieus. As early as at campaign commencement meetings of party groups and organizations we should create a climate of mutual responsibility so that each party cell appropriately fulfills its responsible task of leadership to nonparty people in the difficult work of solving basic general national problems. It is to be expected that in such a climate it will also be easier to make a better evaluation of the political situation in individual labor groups and circles, including a fuller analysis of unprofitable or negative phenomena against which it is necessary to undertake a struggle. And, alongside the phenomena of activity in opposition to socialism, among these negatives belong such ever uneradicated deformities as cliquishness, dishonesty, a bureaucratic relationship to the suggestions of the people and the violation of socialist principles of justice.

The reports-elections campaign, though an event of an intraparty nature, goes far beyond the party in significance. The main goals before those taking part in party meetings and conferences are similar, after all, to the goals of the Polish working class and Poles who think patriotically. For example, is the important goal of further strengthening the leadership and controlling role of the PZPR in society and in the country as well as its ties with the people, the goal whose realization should be promoted by the approaching campaign, not closely identical to the aspirations of millions of working people for assuring the country's socialist course of development? At the same time, is it not extremely inconsistent with the aspirations of these opponents of ours who while madly attacking the party want to undo the nation's socialist achievements and weaken the country, to set Poles at variance with each other and agitate them, to throw obstacles in an obvious manner onto the road of progressive stabilization.

During the ever-continuing political struggle, the substance of the party campaign must be, above all, tasks whose realization determines the prosperity of the country and us all: the preservation of sociopolitical stabilization, intensification of positive tendencies in the economy and solution of social matters, introduction of economic reforms, meeting the aspirations and needs of working people halfway.

The scope of these tasks and the degree of their difficulty also raise the significance of the critical appraisal of the level of activity of party cells and members. There is a place in the reports-elections campaign for making a genuine review of the real achievements made by party cells and people in the party in realizing the program of the Ninth Congress. At the same time, it is particularly necessary that appropriate conclusions be drawn from evaluations of existing weaknesses and that they be included in future programs of activity. After all, insufficient political activity of party members is often a result of badly organized work by party organizations. How to work better--that must be the main theme of the campaign.

In stimulating the action of individual people and cells we want to increase the party's strength in every milieu.



## Campaign in Polish-Soviet Society

Gdansk DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 24 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by asch]

[Text] Last Saturday (22 October) in the conference hall of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk the 13th Provincial Reports-Elections Conference of the Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship [ZW TPPR] took place with 153 delegates from Gdansk Province taking part.

Among others, taking part in the conference were: the chairman of the ZW TPPR in Gdansk, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and first secretary of the KW [Provincial Committee] of the PZPR, Stanislaw Bejger; the secretary of the KW PZPR in Gdansk, Edward Kijek; member of the NK [Chief Committee] of the ZSL Presidium and president of the WK [Provincial Committee] of the ZSL in Gdansk, Boguslaw Droszcz, and the chairman of the WK of the SD in Gdansk, Andrzej Bartel.

Also arriving for the conference were: the chairman of TPPR headquarters, Stanislaw Wronski; Gdansk Vice Governor Lukasz Balcer; the chief of the Provincial Office for Internal Affairs in Gdansk, Brig Gen Jerzy Andrzejewski; the chief of the Provincial Military Headquarters in Gdansk, Commissioned Colonel Zenon Molczyk, and the secretary of the Provincial Council [RW] of the PRON [Patriotic National Regeneration Movement] in Gdansk, Piotr Rajca.

Also participating in the deliberations were: the consul general of the USSR in Gdansk, Lev Vakhrameev, and a Society of Soviet-Polish Friendship delegation from Leningrad made up of Mikhail Gurenkov, Genadii Arafeev and Grigori Iakimishen.

The chairman of the ZW TPPR in Gdansk, S. Bejger, while reading a program paper, elucidated extensively on the origins and traditions of Polish-Soviet friendship. This friendship, the speaker emphasized, grew from a mutual struggle of Polish and Russian revolutionists and from the friendship of two great poets: Mickiewicz and Pushkin. S. Bejger mentioned the ties of the proletarian parties of the sister nations. The decisive turn in bringing Polish-Soviet friendship closer was the Great October Revolution, in defense of which the Warsaw Red Regiment fought, among others. The speaker pointed to the friendship developing on the field of battle during World War II when Polish soldiers traveled the long road all the way to Berlin arm in arm with Soviet soldiers. In discussion postwar times, S. Bejger emphasized the significance of the aid which the Soviet nation provided Poland. Polish-Soviet friendship, S. Bejger stated, passed a singular and difficult test during the years 1980-1981 when the organization was the object of attacks by foes of socialism. At present, this organization has grown in strength and now numbers 100,000 members in Gdansk Province. The basic task of the TPPR at present is, as the chairman of the ZW TPPR underscored, the promulgation of the idea of Polish-Soviet friendship among representatives of the younger generation. This idea should reach the hearts and minds of young people.

Expressing himself on the topic of the present situation in the world, S. Bejger maintained that the strength and fellowship of the socialist camp alone can avert a war.

The chairman of the ZW TPPR thanked the consul general of the USSR in Gdansk, L. Vakhrameev, and the consulate workers for their share in the building and creating of Polish-Soviet friendship.

Those members of the TPPR taking part in the discussion emphasized, among other things, the need for further development and a closer coming together of Polish-Soviet friendship and indicated a need for a broader reaching out to the youth of Gdansk Province. There was also talk of a brotherhood in arms which was begun 40 years ago at the battle of Lenino.

Mikhail Gurenkov, the Soviet guest from Leningrad, conveyed sincere wishes from the Society of Soviet-Polish Friendship and the working people of Leningrad. M. Gurenkov stated, among other things, that our nations, Polish and Soviet, know the significance of peace in the world since they paid a great price for it during World War II. And that is why a struggle for peace is now most important.

The 13th Provincial Reports-Elections Conference of the ZW TPPR in Gdansk accepted the proposal in which, among other things, attention is given for a further lifting of society's historical and general knowledge through a development of school-lecture and publication activity, by making generally known Soviet achievements in economics, science and technology as well as Polish-Soviet cooperation in these fields, especially in the field of maritime economy. Among other things, a need to renew cooperation between establishments and institutions of the Gdansk sea-coast and similar establishments in Leningrad was also indicated in the proposal.

The conference elected new leaders of the ZW TPPR in Gdansk for the coming term. Stanislaw Bejger became chairman of the ZW TPPR, and deputy chairmen: Boguslaw Droszcz, Andrzej Bartel, Lukasz Balcer, and Leon Lendzion. Maria Jalosqynska was elected secretary of the ZW TPPR and Edward Derengowski treasurer.

#### Zielona Gora Reports-Elections Campaign

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 24 Oct 83 p 1, 2

[Article by ZG]

[Text] Last week the first reports-elections meetings took place in the Zielona Gora region party divisional and basic organizations.

What was said at these meetings?

Above all, the development of political influences of the party on society, cooperation of party cells with PRON, with the union movement and youth organizations, the fulfillment of statutory tasks by members, and the need

for a better realization of the Ninth Congress program and resolutions of the top leadership. The dominant train of thought of the discussions was our own problems. It was emphasized that achieving general social goals requires, above all, cleaning up your own yard. This has to do with a greater output of work, better quality of products, more frugal management, rational administering, limiting various troubles in the area of necessities.

Members of the divisional organization of the Odra fiber twisting room section in Nowa Sol maintained that productivity being higher than set in the plan is primarily the result of work on free Saturdays. There is an extensive growth. Changes in the organization of work and technical-technological reconstruction of the plant are imperative. By way of example: the bad state of outfitting dye works lowers product quality. In problems of a social nature, it has been said, among other things, that authorities do not counteract speculation very effectively and that the profit margin in sales is too high in relation to the market price of potatoes. Exorbitant prices on vegetables and fruits in private stores and the growth of the number of business locations offering ready-to-wear clothing at exorbitant prices rouse opposition. Fortunes are being made at the expense of working people by so-called clever individuals who profit, in addition, from licensed privileges. This is incompatible with our sense of social justice.

The system of compensation was the most controversial matter in the divisional organization of the dye works in the Zagan Wool Combing Mill. The comrades submitted a series of propositions having to do with raising salaries, rules for awarding bonuses and including workers in the first category of employment which, among other things, is associated with earlier retirement.

In the Chodkow PGR [State Farms], Brzeznicza Gmina, growth of members' responsibility for individual tasks was accented, especially in the trade movements; also, a continued effort for improving work discipline and daily care for the plant's better economic results. In the discussions, attention was drawn to the accuracy and efficacy of the resolutions of the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee on the matter of party ideological offensives.

The meeting at Prodwodrol inaugurated a campaign in the Sulechow party organization. Main topics of discussion were: matters of raising production levels and economic management, staff social matters, realization of a program of thrift and anti-inflation, the necessity of plant modernization. M. Zaczynski was once more elected first secretary.

At the meeting in Sulechow's Diana Hosiery Mill, much space was devoted in the discussions to matters of ideological life, the role of self-government and labor unions in solving plant problems and also working out a system of compensation acceptable to the majority. Conducting so-called fair sales of industrial products in some plant branches was appraised critically. Aleksandra Blimek was reelected first secretary of the POP [Basic Party Organization].

In the Government Forest Repositories Complex in Zagan Gmina, those meeting critically appraised their own resolutions as well as those of upper levels. In Korczycow and Maszewo (Krosno region) as well as Klepsk (Sulechow region) the discussions mainly dealt with village and agricultural problems, whereas in the Agricultural Technology School in Slawa, they dealt mainly with the functioning of the school.

In the Wolsztyn region, 15 organizations had reports-elections meetings. These discussions also concentrated on one's own problems. There were no stipulated tasks referred to by local and provincial leaders. In the resolutions accepted, there is talk, among other things, of a greater effort by basic organizations for developing party ranks, cooperation with youth organizations, participation in PRON activities, a systematic accounting of members' individual tasks, and a stage by stage check of the execution of its own resolutions and those of central authorities, especially those concerned with the initiation of economic reform.

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## PROVINCIAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS DISCUSSED

### At Reports-Elections Meeting

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 4 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by L. Gnot: "Before the Reports-Elections Meeting: It Has To Be Discussed, Comrades..."]

[Text] The plant surprises one by its order, cleanliness, and good organization. There are not heaps of rusty iron. Metal sheets, forged elements, bars--everything is neatly arranged, properly labeled, put in a great warehouse. Even production scraps, usually abandoned somewhere close to the fence, here have been sorted out and put under a large umbrella roof.

In another part of the plant, in an area specially marked, there are rows of colorfully painted machines, ready for shipping. Those are potato dibblers, at present the plant's main product.

One sees no people strolling all over the place. They can be found at their workposts: in the welding cubicles, at the machine tools, at the assembly and dyeing lines.

The picture seems perfect, like a film commercial. But something, nevertheless, bothers me... Too much room in the production shops, in the warehouses, all over the place. It looks like if a nest, well-organized, and well-functioning plant has been designed and built a size too large.

This impression is confirmed by our talk with Roman Misztal, manager of the Mechanical Plant of the WSR [Farm Equipment Factory] of the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association [ZSch] In Lublin, Plant No 1 in Lubartow--that is the official name of the works. We chatted, waiting for the party organization's executive board to start; it was going to discuss the preparations for the reports-elections meeting of the POP [Basic Party Organization].

"Our plant was established during the investment boom by the Provincial ZSch in Lublin. One has to admit that no land or money were spared, therefore a roomy plant was built with a lot of elan. We have well-

qualified cadres. Even during the war, a mechanical plant was established in Lubartow in order to protect young people from deportation to Germany. Thus, we did not have to start from scratch. Our main products were supposed to be assorted sheet metal umbrella roofs. They are in great demand by various storage areas and warehouses. At first, everything was fine--there was not shortage of materials, tools or other equipment. Buyers waited in line.

"The situation began to deteriorate when the crisis gripped the entire economy. First of all, we were short of raw materials. Our production required large quantities of construction steel, sheet metal, dyes and anticorrosive chemicals--and that became harder and harder to get. Moreover, we began to realize that, even though he had no trouble selling, in future, due to investment cuts, the first to be scrapped would be objects such as warehouses, umbrella roofs, et al.

"Thus it got difficult. On one hand, demands escalated. Many were justified, but even more were demagogical ones. On the other hand, we had to adjust production, to find something liable to save the plant from a real threat of destruction.

There were many initiatives--starting with the adaptation of one kind of smaller roofs for quick assembly of barns, to ventilation equipment made to order in cooperation with engineering and assembly works which have helped us, and still do help, in procuring the necessary components. They are simply stronger and more influential.

"We also began to turn out milk-transporting vessels mounted on car trailers with all their gear. That was a good production, fine and well paid. But its development was hampered not only by the shortage of sheet metal made of acid-resistant steel, but especially by organizational misunderstandings and conflicts between various ministries. At that time, dairy cooperatives split from our section of the ZSch. They preferred to make them in their own works...

"We came to the conclusion that for our plant the main issue is to start a type of production which would not require too much raw materials in short supply, and, being more labor intensive, would provide our work force with jobs and pay. Obviously, production that would be really needed."

"And then you started to turn out those famous potato dibblers?"

"Not so much famous as functionally simple, cheaper than similar machines produced elsewhere, and therefore much sought after by farmers. But I would prefer to discuss that together with the other comrades."

The party executive board in the Lubartow Mechanical Plant heads an organization which at present has 41 members.

"Out of a workforce of 210, it seems to indicate a fair ratio of party membership," says Stanislaw Schabowski, the secretary, "but at the reports-elections meeting I would still like to pose the question of strengthening the party by admitting new people. In our organization there should be more workers, mainly younger ones, especially since there are people who have a lot of understanding for our policies, who even are involved."

"I agree. We should pose the question, let people know that we keep our doors open. But no quantitative canvassing, let them come of their own good will, only the best ones..."

"Comrades, we have more decisively put on the agenda the problems of ideological work, especially of party training. As you remember, regular attendance at our meeting had its ups and downs."

"Right! But I would go one further. At one time we intended to invite non party activists to our training sessions. Perhaps we can now return to the idea. The political situation and the mood have changed."

Despite the manager's request, the executive board deliberations are interrupted several times. Electrodes are urgently needed (this is addressed to the warehouse keeper, member of the executive board), then there is a call from the workshop for which some ventilation equipment had just been prepared--the manager, assisted by the chief engineer, talk about it in a way which is a masterpiece of diplomacy... The question is, to spur them to make some spare parts for automatic production of bottle caps in the plant... The works, fighting for survival, and for a chance given by the reform, try to do even that...

"You can well see, comrades, that there is no escape from production and organization problems. We have to deal with them day in, day out, therefore, let the entire organization and work force know how we fight for their most essential issues."

"That is right. Let us recall the dibbler case. Due to our initiative, designers worked out a project and we started production. Last year, 4,000, this year 6,000 machines. But it is still not enough... When, after some press articles, orders began to pour in and farmers from the other end of Poland came to visit us, we could not cope anymore."

"Let us step up production."

"No way. Even though with this product we have made the operational program, we still have to chase most of the materials in small village shops. Here a bit of appropriate sheet metal, somewhere else some sections."

"And what about our anti-import production?"

"Exactly: bottling equipment for "Fruktopol", gear for "Unitra," gins for flax planters..."



"Yes, the entire production is worth its weight in foreign currency. There should be no trouble with procurement."

"Unfortunately, that is not the case. We try to cooperate with 'Instal'." Now, for instance, we, together with other enterprises, are turning out equipment for the Lublin foundry. Only thanks to them we can provide the material input."

"But such linkage does not always work. We needed some parts for the automatic bottle cap machines. We asked the Swidnik Transport Equipment Factory, but they are not interested in what is for them a trifle. But for us, putting a few machines of this kind in operation means getting a protected-labor division. Light work for disabled people."

"Might not our party organization apply to the party in Swidnik? Perhaps they would approach the matter with more consideration?"

"Well, we can at our meeting put together such an appeal."

"But those are all stopgap measures. I think we have to define our attitude in the principal question: What is the status of our plant going to be? On it, too, depends the answer to the question whether to continue preparations for establishing a self-management body. Within the existing framework it is difficult to obtain full clarity in this matter."

Everybody falls silent. The executive board and the party organization confront a difficult dilemma. The Lubartow plant belongs to the WZSR [Provincial Union of Agricultural Cooperatives], and is subordinated to their provincial board in Lublin. In addition, as a plant it has a head office which also works... out of Lublin. This does not serve the cause of maintaining proper ties between the work force and the head office, even hampers solution of various pending questions, and is particularly painful at a time when running the operation, finding raw materials, and many other difficult problems, require immediate decisions based on familiarity with the works. Several times the work force has already raised the question. "Solidarity" gained popularity thanks to its revolutionary slogan of full independence, of cutting all links with the rural cooperatives.

"Comrades, I think we should not succumb to emotions. Cutting our links with the WZSR is not a purely legal question--after all, they had financed the investment with their own funds--it is also an economic issue. We are a small enterprise, and even had we managed to raise production according to our wishes, and our work force according to our space capacities, we would never acquire the status of a major producer, similar to 'Agromet' in Lublin, Plock, or Poznan. A split means cutting ourselves off a strong economic body, whence we can draw materials, and, if need be, funds as well."

"But do we have to go with every trifle to Lublin?"

"Not at all! The organization should initiate a comprehensive review of the legal, administrative and technological aspects of the matter, and to accept a solution that will safeguard maximum necessary independence, while assuring the assistance and protection of the WSZR and of the entire division, in a way which complies with the law and is profitable to both parties."

"And, for the time being, we have to make the head office spend more time with us in the plant, and less in their Lublin offices. After all, we are their biggest, predominant enterprise!"

During our talk with the executive board, many other issues also were raised. Problems of the work force, of labor conditions, of worker social welfare, problems which by now are already being tackled by the new labor unions, of other organizations' activity. They have managed to get more than 10 apartments thanks to a joint action with, and assistance of, the housing cooperative. Now they are thinking about additional chances in cooperation with other enterprises. They face all problems squarely, even the most difficult ones.

After all, it has been generally accepted that party members, in their long and arduous struggle, when the survival of the enterprise is often at stake, do not seek escape in the comfortable role of watching from the sidelines. There will always be somebody to point out: That, comrades, has to be discussed. And later: That has to be done...

#### Party Indoctrination Needed

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 4 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (kuz), "National Inauguration of Party Schools in the Academic Community: The Party Needs More Class and Ideotheoretical Consciousness"]

[Text] "The party needs more class and ideotheoretical consciousness"--such was the motto of the national inauguration of party schooling among economists, held on 2 November in a Lublin student club.

In addition to the party aktiv and representatives of Lublin universities' authorities, also taking part in the festivities were representatives of PZPR university committees from academic centers all over the country. Wladyslaw Loranc, head of the Ideological Department of the PZPR Central Committee, and Alfred Sroka, deputy head of the Education and Schools Department of the Central Committee, also attended, along with representatives of ministries which supervise university-level schools, and PZPR provincial committees from towns where academic party organizations are active.

The audience was warmly welcomed by Prof Wieslaw Skrzydlo, first secretary of the PZPR KW [Provincial Committee] in Lublin, who represented the provincial party echelon. He pointed out the national inauguration

festivities for a new school year in party education were held in Lublin to underline the rank of the Lublin academic center, created after the war virtually from scratch and continuously developed.

Prof W. Skrzydlo then dealt with the principal goals, the high rank and the meaning of ideological and educational activity in the Lublin academic community, as well as with ways and means of accomplishing them.

The main condition for promoting ideological and ideoeducational activity in this community, of its enormous impact on shaping the attitudes of young people, consists of strengthening the rank and the position of university party organizations. Another condition, the secretary pointed out, involves tightening the links between those organizations and party members in workers' and rural communities, thanks, among others, to attendance by scholars of meetings of enterprise and local party organizations, their participation in the training activities of those organizations, and convening common conferences and debates.

The chairman, Henryk Domzal, member of the PZPR Central Committee and secretary of the PZPR KW in Lublin, then gave the floor to Prof Mariusz Gulczynski of the Institute of State and Law in the Polish Academy of Sciences, who delivered a lecture on "Scientific Socialism and Polish Reality."

The liveliest interest among the audience was aroused by those polemical parts of the lecture in which the speaker laid bare the sources of revisionist and doctrinaire tendencies within the party, as well as the passages dealing with overcoming the ideological and political crises and the blueprints for further advancement of socialism.

"Such a blueprint," said Prof M. Gulczynski, "cannot stem from revelation, from invoking belief in absolute, coherent, and correct truth, but is due to social thinking. A certain level of consciousness is necessary for steady advancement of reality. If we wish to avoid building our system by trial and error, the real existing socialism has to be made more scientific; we have to be motivated to learn the laws which determine social development and creatively to apply them in practice. What our socialism looks like, and what it is going to look like, thus, depends to a large extent on ourselves, on our comprehension of the possibilities and the necessity to advance socialism, as well as on our capability to achieve our goals by organized action. How far will socialism be free of afflictions painful to us? How much chance will it give to each of us--meaning: to all of us--to achieve optimal satisfaction in private and social life?

Teaching and values were the subject of a lecture delivered by Dr Zdzislaw Czarnecki, of UMCS [Maria Curie-Sklodowski University].

During the session Eugeniusz Pietrasik, director of the Students Department in the Ministry of Higher Education, Science, and Technology, also took the floor. He presented the programmatic premises for ideoeducational activity in the universities, prepared by his ministry.

Wladyslaw Loranc, head of the Ideological Department of the PZPR Central Committee, critically dealt with the issues discussed during the session. He pointed out that the educational activity of the party should aim at shaping attitudes characterized by respect for work and study, by social discipline, by a sense of responsibility for Poland. One has to shape and to promote the aptitude of party members, and of all citizens, to counteract social, political and nationalist demagoguery, irrespective of the intentions that inspire their propagators, who create new myths and resurrect old ones, or deceive the population by quick and easy illusory solutions. In this context, the speaker underlined the importance of propagating among the population the accomplishments of the 40 years of the Polish People's Republic.

He also said that party training should step up the consistency of ideology and the practical activity of the party, a condition necessary for recovering its full credibility in the society. He also paid special attention to criteria and conditions of enhancing the leading role of the party in social practice.

#### Krosno Province Party Plenum

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 4 Nov 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by E.W. and S.B.: "Plenum of the PZPR in Krosno: Tracing People's Problems and Concerns"]

[Text] Working people's letters, complaints and grievances, addressed to party committees and organizations, or to state administration echelons, provide the most sensitive indicator of social moods. They not only express trust and belief in an efficient solution of major human problems, but also [reflect] the fight against the negative phenomena in our life. To eradicate evil, favoritism, cliques, bureaucracy, and other similar occurrences is a major task of all party elements, a task formulated in the resolution passed by the Ninth PZPR Congress.

A quick, efficient and determined reaction to the phenomena signaled in working people's letters and complaints is an essential goal to which the party KW in Krosno was recently paying a lot of attention. In August 1983, during the preparation of the KW plenum, a special questionnaire was sent to 5,000 workers and farmers, asking them to give their opinion on how state and economic administration echelons function. Political and organizational initiatives introduced an "open door" policy in the PZPR KW; each Monday members of the secretariat and the top echelon of the provincial party organization were on phone duty, and meetings with representative leaders of the state and economic administration were

held in various communities. Such multiple contacts, and an atmosphere of goodwill, understanding and involvement in solving problems and troubles of the Subcarpathian population, have brought considerable effects. Those were discussed in detail in the report of the executive board of the PZPR KW, read by its first secretary, Henryk Wojtal, as well as in the speech by Tadeusz Kruczek, the Krosno Governor. The plenum was attended by first secretaries of primary level party committees, by members of the presidium of the WKR [Provincial Party Control Commission] and the KKKP [Party Audit Board], by a large number of PRON [Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth] activists, by members of the Complaints and Motions Commission of the PZPR KW, and by the leading cadres of state administration echelons.

Also present were: Albin Siwak, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee and chairman of the Complaints, Motions and Signals Commission of the PZPR Central Committee; Brig Gen Czeslaw Dega, head of the Foreign Department in the PZPR Central Committee; Col Marian Kot, head of the Letters and Inspection Department in the PZPR Central Committee; and Jan Jablonski, vice minister of administration and urban planning.

During the debate it was pointed out that the systematic growth of number of letters, motions and demands reflects the growing prestige of the party, its local echelons, organizations, and committees, as well as trust and belief in effective and just solutions of many sore problems and concerns. During the first three quarters of this year, 285 written complaints and 107 phone interventions were registered; the first secretary of the PZPR KW gave audience to 93 people, and the staff of the Letters and Complaints Bureau in the KW to not less than 499 suppliants. Altogether, the number of thus addressed interventions, cases and grievances amounted to 984, compared to 604 in the same period of last year. In the same period of time, primary party committees got 301 letters and written interventions and talked to 1,032 clients. Inhabitants of the Subcarpathian region addressed 347 interventions to the Provincial Office in Krosno and to its subordinate echelons.

#### People's Signals--a Major Source of Information

The subject matter of problems and concerns raised is exceptionally rich and varied, since they deal with both general and social issues, and with individual, private matters. The contents of letters, complaints and interventions thus reveal the complexity of problems the Subcarpathian population has to cope with in their everyday life. Their analysis shows that most critical remarks are concerned with the principles of implementing the economic reform, the growing costs of living, the quality of services rendered by trade and catering enterprises, the widespread occurrences of speculation, getting rich at all costs, violating the principles of social justice in the distribution of goods and products in short supply, the rampant bureaucracy and the excessive growth of the administration in enterprises and cooperatives. Much attention was also paid to various shortcomings in managing raw materials and components, in municipal

administration, in construction and repair of streets and local roads, as well as to improper treatment of working people by state and economic administrative echelons. Many critical interventions concerned transportation services by state rail and bus companies, as well as the sluggishness of housing cooperatives in putting abandoned property to use, in managing housing estates and in distributing plots for family house construction. Justly criticized were the echelons rendering services to farmers, the classification of cattle and milk, and the sluggishness in dealing with formalities involved in land purchases. The contents of letters and complaints indicate that the local population still expects state administration offices to make quicker and more effective decisions on matters concerning them and their problems, more relevant decisions and solutions which are in compliance with the rules in force, based on knowledge of facts and of specific situations.

Participating in the debate were: Stanislaw Czerwonka, member of the WKKP and regional prosecutor in Krosno; Stanislaw Rzasa, member of the KW and of the SRN; the first secretary of the PZPR KG [Village Committee] in Solina, Franciszek Zawadski; the chairman of the Treasury Chamber in Jaslo; Feliks Leniart, vice chairman of the PRON Provincial Board in Krosno; Stanislaw Bara, member of the KW Complaints and Motion Commission and chairman of the Housing Cooperative in Krosno; Ryszard Grzebien, mayor of Sanok; Jozef Lobaza, director of the provincial branch of the PZU [State Insurance Bureau]; Jozef Tofilski, alternate member of the KW and curator of schools and education; Dominik Arendarski, chairman of the WKKP; Brig Gen Czeslaw Dega, head of the Foreign Department of the PZPR Central Committee.

#### There Is Still a Lot of Evil

The debate was very matter-of-fact, specific, and critical, thanks to the profound analysis of all the negative occurrences, supported by numerous earlier research studies and checkups, in which a large number of nonparty activists had also participated. The complaints issue was discussed with regard to work accomplished by various people, echelons and party organizations, whose duty it was to react quickly to people's concerns in compliance with the resolutions passed by the PZPR leadership and by the government. Unfortunately, in many state and economic administration echelons party organizations still do not analyze complaints addressed to those bodies, even though they often concern party members. After all, the party--as the first secretary of the PZPR KW pointed out in his summing-up speech--cannot remain insensitive to negative occurrences; it has to intervene in a determined way in all those areas where evil breeds.

And the report of the KW executive board, the Governor's speech, and the debate, all provided many instances which show that there is still a lot of evil left.



People, for instance, are well aware of housing difficulties, but are bothered by cases of some apartments being allotted out of turn, or to people who already have an apartment.

The problem of land management and agriculture were severely criticized. This concerns mainly the protracted routine involved in land purchases, favoritism in distribution of building materials, machines, tractors, etc. Complex inspections, initiated by the Provincial Office leadership, are emergency measures to eradicate such occurrences. Hence the need--as was pointed out--for an immediate intervention in such cases by party committees or organizations, by rural self-government, by other social echelons, numerous in the countryside and equipped with wide powers. However, the local policy of Gmina or Gmina-municipal offices often deviates from the policy of party committees and organizations, and vice versa. Instead of common action in the interest of the locality and its inhabitants, they move on parallel courses, avoid one another.

As the chairman of the WKKP pointed out, harassment of people who denounce evil in enterprises and offices still happens, and in some cases criticism is stifled by people at the top. Such cases are checked in detail by party committees, and culprits get their well-deserved punishment.

People, said the vice chairman of the PRON Provincial Board in Krosno, are angry because of the carelessness and ineptitude of some heads of economic echelons who make light of their duties. Hence complaints and grievances. Blatant instances are provided by state rail and bus companies--virtually nobody registers travelers' complaints. Grumbling about delayed trains and buses, about the often provoking behavior of their staff, about dirty cars, have grown and became a problem, but still there is no improvement in sight.

In the debate, considerable attention was paid to personnel policy. People complain of those who mistreat them, and make light of their duties. This does not imply that all employees or all officials are bad, or that an official is a man who wants to harm the public. Those working in offices or committees should therefore, be judged according to their contribution, as well as on their comportment. Such evaluations should be done frequently.

#### Albin Siwak's Contribution

The speaker began by describing the situation in the country and all over the world. Referring to the debate, he pointed out that the leadership of the PZPR Central Committee pays the greatest attention to people's complaints and motions. They contribute to the activities of the Central Committee, and initiate many government decisions and measures. This can be seen in the legislative activity of the Sejm. Polling moods and opinions of the population through complaints and grievances should become the essence of all party committee and organization work. Albin Siwak pointed out that the leadership of the Krosno KW listens very carefully



and responsibly to the working people's voice, and more and more effectively to the working people's voice, and more and more effectively counteracts all negative phenomena in the life of the society; this is its positive achievement. Its accomplishment should be further promoted.

The resolutions passed by the KW and the motions specify the tasks of the party committees and organizations in dealing with working people's letters, complaints, and interventions.

#### Party Reports-Elections Campaign

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 4 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (ZT), "The Executive Board of the Krakow PZPR Committee: Investments--International Cooperation--Party Reports-Elections Campaign"]

[Text] A session of the executive board of the Krakow party committee was held yesterday with Jozef Gajewicz, its first secretary, in the chair; it has, inter alia, evaluated the implementation of the investment plan in the city of Krakow over the first three quarters of this year. Following the evaluation of the plan, presented by the mayor of Krakow, several motions were passed; they indicate that while the funds for local planned investments would be fully spent before the end of the year, no proper implementation of its material effects follows. Such a state of affairs was caused by the increased investment costs as billed by contractors, and the expected full implementation of financial targets does not always originate in better work. The investors are mainly to blame for not properly checking the increased costs of investment. They are much more interested in spending the appropriated funds than in the material effects those funds should have produced. Party organizations in construction and assembly enterprises and investing firms should be obliged to evaluate the implementation of tasks all over Krakow Province, and to draw conclusions which should serve better fulfillment of tasks, not only in 1983.

The executive board then listened to information on the cooperation between Krakow and its twin cities in the socialist countries in 1982-83, and passed appropriate resolutions and motions concerning future development of such cooperation in the coming years.

In addition, the executive board of the Krakow Party committee discussed the preparations for its next plenum, dedicated to party work in the countryside. Many issues were also raised in connection with the ongoing reports-elections campaign in the PZPR Krakow organization.

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## PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

### Zielona Gora Meeting on Reports Campaign

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 12-13 Nov 83 pp 1,2

[Text] A meeting of the executive board of the PZPR Provincial Committee was held on Friday, 11 November in Zielona Gora.

The executive board acquainted itself with the information on the course of the reports-elections campaign of the provincial party organization. Party groups have completed their meetings and the meetings of division organizations are ending. Also 70 percent of the basic organizations have elected new authorities and outlined activities programs for the immediate future. Plant conferences are beginning in big factory organizations, agricultural associations and institutions. In the discussions, much attention is devoted to the questions of ideological and political activation of members, improving the cooperation of party elements with socioprofessional organizations and to the problems of implementing economic reform. The discussions are dominated, however, by local community issues of the quality and discipline of work, system of salaries, improving production and socioexistential needs.

The executive board acquainted itself with the preparations for the provincial reports-elections conference, which will complete the campaign in the region. It was provisionally decided that it will be held on 20 December this year. It will be preceded by district meetings of delegates. At the same time it was decided that a plenary session of the provincial committee will be held in November, at which the reports and programs for the conference will be confirmed and the course of the reports-elections campaign will be evaluated.

### Wloclawek Campaign For All Communities

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 14 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (mat)]

[Text] Propagating the idea of Polish-Soviet friendship in all social communities is the main task of the TPPR [Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship]. This very task dominated the Saturday provincial reports-elections conference of the Wloclawek Province TPPR. Apart from 150 delegates

representing almost all the municipal and gmina centers of the province, representatives of the sociopolitical authorities of the province took part in the conference, with Krystian Luczak, first secretary of the PZPR KW [Provincial Committee]; Roman Pstrong, president of the ZSL WK [Provincial Committee]; Ryszard Tomczewski, head of the SD WK [Provincial Committee]; Henryk Pychynski, head of the WRN [Provincial National Council], and Roman Blaszak, chief of the Provincial Council of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth]. Among the guests of the conference were Oleg Dawtian, consul of the Consulate General of the USSR in Gdansk and representatives of the central authorities of the TPPR--Gen Norbert Michta and Marian Renke.

In the reporting speech, delivered by the head of the provincial board of the TPPR in Wloclawek, Stanislaw Wawrzonkoski, principal aspects of the society's activity during the previous term were discussed. It was stated that the end of the 1970's was very fruitful. Organizational and program work was going effectively and systematically. However, not all the forms and methods of work were able to reach all the members of the TPPR, which has caused a narrowing of ideological and educational activities. Sometimes there were not enough arguments for active political struggle in the years 1980-1981. "It should be strongly emphasized, however," said the head of the provincial board, "that despite difficulties, the society did not stop its statutory activity in that period. Recently, there have been more and more signals which demonstrate the revival of the authority and power of action of the organization. But difficult work, requiring considerable political responsibility, is awaiting all the activists of the TPPR."

During the discussion, past forms of action in the countryside and in worker and youth communities were presented and the need to make methods of work more attractive was pointed out. It was emphasized that good information and reaching for positive examples from the history of Polish-Russian relations are indispensable, as well as reliable and competent information about the effects of economic and cultural cooperation between the two countries. Problems of tourist exchange and direct contacts of the working people occupied much time during the debate. These will be possible thanks to cooperation between Wloclawek Province and Mohlevski District in the Bielorussian SSR.

The participants of the conference also emphasized the need to guarantee peace in the world. They adopted an appeal in which they object to the growth of the nuclear threat and to the war campaign that has recently been sponsored by the United States.

New provincial authorities of the TPPR were elected during the conference. The 60-member board will again be headed by the KW Secretary Stanislaw Wawrzonkoski and the function of secretary was given to Henryk Lewandowski. Tadeusz Baranski became the head of the Control Committee. Seven delegates will represent Wloclawek Province at the National congress of the TPPR.

There were also distinctions for the most deserving activists of the TPPR. The Cavalier Crosses of the Medal of Poland's Rebirth were awarded to Eugenia Zamiatowska, Janusz Oczykowski and Tadeusz Baranski. One gold and three silver Crosses of Merit were also awarded, as well as insignia "For Merit to Wloclawek Province" and honorary TPPR insignia.

## Tarnow Province Plenum

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 14 Nov 83 pp 1,2

[Article by Jerzy Rzeszuto]

[Text] The Saturday plenum of the PZPR KW in Tarnow, which was led by Stanislaw Opalko, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the PZPR KW in Tarnow, was devoted to the definition of tasks which should be accomplished by the party echelons and organizations, and educational administration in the political and educational work carried out in schools and educational establishments of Tarnow Province. Wladyslaw Kata, deputy head of the Department of Science and Education of the PZPR Central Committee; Czeslaw Banach, vice minister of education; Stanislaw Partyla, president of the ZSL WK; Stanislaw Gajewski, head of the SD WK, Jan Zieba, head of the WRN and Tarnow Governor Stanislaw Nowak came to the plenum.

The speech of the executive board of the PZPR KW was delivered by Jan Karkowski, secretary of the PZPR KW. Jan Karkowski emphasized in his speech that the rank of the political and educational tasks for the school as an institution serving the socialist state results from the character of this establishment itself. The main goal of the didactic and educational work of the school in our socialist state has been and still is shaping the attitudes and personalities of the students according to the needs of a socialist society. It is known that the legal and political basis for the Polish educational system, apart from the constitution, can be found in: the 1961 Sejm bill on the system of education and the Sejm bill of 26 January 1982 "The Teachers' Charter," as well as in special legal regulations adopted by the Sejm of the PRL [Polish People's Republic] in July of this year for the period of overcoming the crisis. These legal acts of the highest rank define the basic principles of our Polish educational system, i.e., the state and secular character of the school and customs accepted in it, as well as the foundation of the processes of teaching and education on the socialist system of values. The crisis has led to many mistakes and has revealed a number of deficiencies. Because of this, the whole educational community requires special attention and care from the party echelons and party organizations active in this community, which should get support and assistance in their efforts aiming at consistent consolidation of the socialist character of the Polish school.

As for Tarnow education, generally speaking, favorable changes are taking place, the sociopolitical stabilization in schools and educational establishments is deepening. Both, solutions undertaken by the central political and educational authorities and the initiatives and activity of the provincial and local authorities have had a positive influence on these processes. The educational community has received well the adoption of the "Teachers' Charter" and especially the consistent way of implementing the bill which, according to plan, was to take place this year. The decisions in this field undertaken at the beginning of the school year ended the period of frustration of the teaching community caused by delays in preparing the implementing regulations for the charter and anxiety over the implementation of its further provisions. It is necessary, however, to say objectively that the phenomena occurring in

the process of salary increases in the entire economy, combined with the predicted increases of prices, maintain the anxiety of some teachers about their material situation.

On the other hand, the decision of the provincial authorities concerning the construction of a school for children requiring special care meets with considerable understanding. Teaching communities and interested social circles treat the efforts undertaken in the field of improving the educational basis with understanding. Nevertheless there are critical voices concerning mainly the speed of realization of educational capital projects, which is slower as compared with other branches of the construction industry; this concerns mainly Bochnia and Brzesk. Strong social pressure to build new schools and develop the existing ones is maintained in many gminas and cities of the province. Among the negative phenomena we should mention continued problems with the preparation of teaching problems, textbooks and teaching aids in time. The new programs for teaching some subjects are still under criticism. The model of functioning of education needs to be modernized. The managing cadres of schools signal that they have no practical possibilities of firing teachers who do not fulfill their duties or lack discipline, if they use the obligatory regulations. Questions were asked: Would not strong district inspectorates be a better solution in the field of methods of managing education, instead of small gmina director's offices, in the situation when the administrative background at our disposal is weak?

A number of critical remarks were directed to the Educational Inspector General's Office at the UW [Governor's Office], mainly because some superintendents limit themselves to controlling the formal and documentary aspects of an establishment and the whole system of methodological counseling is weak.

Speaking of the conditions shaping the sociopolitical situation in Tarnow education, one cannot omit the cadre phenomena occurring in it. Forty-two percent of the cadres in Tarnow Province education have college education. With respect to educational inspectors, gmina school headmasters, headmasters and their deputies in secondary schools, this indicator is 95.1 percent. If, however, we consider the qualifications of teachers from the point of view of differences between cities and the countryside, the picture is more complicated. The total number of teachers employed full time in Tarnow Province is 9,289, of which 5,397 are employed in municipal schools. It is necessary to point out deep differences in the education of teachers in cities and in the countryside. While in cities 71.8 percent of teachers have college education, only 27 percent of country teachers have it and they are mainly employed in big gmina schools and in secondary schools located in gmina capitals.

Teachers without educational qualifications--there are 556 of them in the province this year--are a serious problem.

Jan Karkowski also said that the crisis in the sphere of political awareness during the last few years negatively influenced the attitudes of teachers. We are now observing a gradual stabilization of their feelings and attitudes. It is the result of both the general stabilization of the situation in the country and of understanding of the function of the school as an institution

obliged to implement fully the educational policy of the socialist state which is strengthening among teachers. The ideological influence of both the echelons and the school administration has undoubtedly caused improvement of the level of teachers' awareness. A considerable role was played by the implementation of the resolutions of the 9th, 12th and 13th plenums of the PZPR Central Committee. On the other hand, the attitude of a certain group of young teachers, especially those without educational qualifications and without a clear ideological standing, who unwillingly participate in social and political activities and maintain an indifferent attitude toward the Polish Teachers' Union, is a cause for concern. "The teacher cannot keep himself aloof from social matters," said the speaker, "since he is observed by youngsters. It is he who introduces order in the shaky system of ideological and moral values of young people, teaches them understanding for the needs of the state and respect for social activity."

Talking about the work of the POP [Basic Party Organization], the speaker had a number of critical reflections concerning the contribution of POP members and whole organizations in the preparation of directional tasks for the educational plans of schools and especially in controlling their implementation. For, in many schools the point of view of party organizations on important problems in school activity is not presented to pedagogical councils.

The speech was followed by a lengthy and lively discussion in which the following took part: Jan Krawczyk, Bronislaw Soprych, Edmund Galas, Jozef Mlynio, Zenon Lezon, Franciszek Widla, Czeslaw Sterkowicz, Stefan Majka, Franciszek Szczutowski, Kazimierz Szlosek, Czeslaw Banach, Wieslaw Libkowski, Edward Ormianski, Maria Jedrzejek, Danuta Miroslawska, Marian Morawczynski, Wladyslaw Kata and Stanislaw Opalko.

During the discussion complex problems of educational work with youth were mentioned, as well as individual observations and conclusions.

Taking the floor, Stanislaw Opalko, member of the Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the PZPR KW in Tarnow, said that the teaching profession has never been treated so seriously as following the Ninth PZPR Congress. He spoke extensively about developing the basis for education according to expectations and needs. He emphasized that in the case of Tarnow Province attention is mainly directed to Bochnia, where the needs in this respect are greatest. He also reminded the audience that five new schools will be built in the province in the immediate future. This will reflect the decisions of one of the recent meetings of the Central Committee Politburo, which adopted a resolution that despite difficulties it is necessary to create a better basis for education. "The educational basis is the object of our greatest attention today," he said. Talking about the process of educating the young generation, the speaker stated that pedagogues often do not know the principles of the political system, especially the younger ones. One cannot blame only the school for it, for many irregularities occurred in party work. This is why much attention was devoted to educational problems at the Ninth PZPR Congress and during the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee. But everybody must adjust to the tasks outlined by them, though we know how difficult it is. "This is not a production process" said Stanislaw Opalko,



"this is a process of shaping man and his personality." The resolution adopted by the plenum defines the most urgent tasks of party activity in the educational community as strengthening the principles defining the educational system of our socialist state and especially the system of values in education resulting from it; further activization of the school POP so that they can implement more effectively the tasks resulting from the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR and the resolutions of the 9th, 12th and 13th plenums of the Central Committee; strengthening the leading role of the POP in the life of schools and educational establishments, as well as in the work of school administration; consistent implementation of the provisions of the Teachers' Charter; and full implementation of the program of improving the Tarnow educational basis.

The composition of the program council of the Tarnow Information Warehouse, "TeMI," headed by Stanislaw Opalko, was presented during the meeting.

The KW plenum also adopted the motions of the executive board on calling Jan Brychniarski to the position of head of the Department of Education and Culture of the PZPR KW in Tarnow and on recalling Jan Kornas from the position of head of the Economic Department of the PZPR KW in Tarnow.

Also, the provisional date of the provincial conference of the PZPR in Tarnow was set for 14 January 1984.

#### Gorzow Report-Elections Campaign

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 14 Nov 83 p 1, 2

[Article by (ada)]

[Text] The provincial organization of the TPPR has almost 43,000 members in 900 plants, local and school circles. One hundred thirty delegates of this organization, elected during the reports-elections campaign in the region, will hold a meeting of the provincial reports-elections conference of the TPPR in Gorzow today (Monday, 14 November). They represent all the social and professional communities. Each of them has its specific character and so the forms of work constituting the achievements of the organization are very different. Among the permanent forms of activity are direct contacts with the Soviet friends, representatives of the Northern Group of Forces of the Soviet Army and veterans of World War II who fought in Polish and Soviet uniforms. Excursions along the trails of struggles for the freedom of our motherland and patronage over places and chambers of memory organized by the TPPR have a considerable cognitive value. School circles very willingly engage in various forms of cultural and educational work. They organize artistic performances presenting rich Soviet folklore and songs from the Soviet Union, which are liked so much. They are now participating massively in the Days of Soviet Movies.



The achievements of the organization will be presented in the reporting speech of the provincial board of the TPPR and during the discussion of the delegates. The conference will decide on further directions of activity and will elect its authorities for the new term.

The meeting, beginning at 10 am, will be held in the auditorium of the Complex of Construction Industry Schools at Okrzei Street.

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CSO: 2600/322

## PROVINCIAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS NOTED

## Verification of Party Activity

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 4 Nov 83 pp 1,2

/Article by JER: "Test of Party Activity"/

/Text/ In our province, as in the rest of the country, a reports-elections campaign continues in the departmental and basic party organizations. Meetings have already taken place in several hundred OOP /departmental party organizations/ and POP /primary party organization/ organizations at which activities of the last 2½ years were evaluated, programs were proposed, and new leaders selected for the coming term. In larger organizations, delegates were also selected to city, city-gmina and gmina conferences. Many meetings took place yesterday, and many will take place today and in the very near future.

Summarizing the activity during the past, very difficult term, conducted under conditions of severe socioeconomic crisis and political strife, analyzing experiences in carrying out the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR and regular plenary meetings of the Central Committee and provincial organizations, and the basic step and our own steps, one looks for an answer to the questions, what have we achieved, and what have we not been able to do; which methods of work should be developed, having learned from life which are to be avoided because they were ineffective; or what should be corrected in party work to produce more obvious results. At the same time, much attention is being given to allocating the forces of the party in the plant or institution, in a city development, or in the village to the evaluation of political consistency and organization activity, to carrying out individual tasks by specific members, and their attitudes with respect to the slogan proposed at the 12th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee: "Every party member is a leader in his milieu." Frequently, the subject of discussion is the content and results of the recent 13th Plenum of the Central Committee and the tasks that the provincial committee put forward last week, specifically concerning the great significance of the matter of agreement between ideology and practice, disseminating the principle that the party is wherever there is a party member, and applying Leninist norms of social justice to daily life.

The discussion concentrated also on problems at work, inadequacies in achieving better productivity and organization of work, in inculcating reform of economic principles, and on injustices in interpersonal relations; on reasons for these weaknesses and means of coping with negative developments. In workers' centers, questions connected with the directing role of the party, with the need to improve the training system and party self-education, and the struggles with evil and with opponents of socialism are also the subject of discussions. Also heard were various concerns about the worsening international situation, the cold-war policies of imperialism.

#### Reports-Elections Campaign Discussed

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 4 Nov 83 p 3

/Article by Ewa Wanacka: "At the Reports-Elections Meeting of the OOP, Section KG-10, Staszic Mine, Concerning That Which Is Most Difficult; No Vague Hints"

/Text/ We should know that ideology is not just theory and abstraction, but is linked closely with practice, and should be proven in life. For this reason there must be not dissonance between slogans and reality. This was said once before, agreement between words and deeds was touted, but there was a gap between them, a great crevice, and this was one of the reasons for the crises. Today the party wants to be real. This is a completely different attitude toward ideology.

The 13th Plenum of the Central Committee very strongly stressed the unity of ideology, politics and economics in practical language. But we have much to learn. Ideology answers many questions about our goals, about the sense of our actions, about the methods; it answers the question of what to do and how. We pay too little attention to these problems.

"Comrade Jaruzelski was right in saying that the most dramatic is behind us and the most difficult is before us. We can see this in our mind. The aggressiveness of our opponents has decreased, they no longer call us reds, but a good bit of distrust and waiting and watching persists. There is no comparison with the previous shock and hatred, but we see that in the sphere of consciousness there is much to be done; the party is blamed for every impropriety or mistake. Many people do not belong to anything, they do nothing, they read nothing, they put their hands to nothing, but they judge everything, criticize, debate and watch passively to see if the party will extricate the country from this crisis. There are others who do not see any changes, who absolutely do not want to see any changes in the party, although deep transformations have occurred in the party.

Actually it is the same, but it is not the same. The scope of democracy has become broader, say what you will, there are positive actions taken with respect to such basic values of socialism as equality, social justice, and democracy. I think that these comrades will be convinced by positive changes in the sphere of living and working conditions--concrete things. For this reason we spoke of this also at the meeting. But defending someone from unjust punishment by a director or bringing about better treatment of a worker by the administration is also concrete. Certainly the rigors that martial law created also create such possibilities today. This is a matter for the federation of miners trade unions, but we excuse party members who are active in the trade unions from these matters.

"This is not easy. I have more than 30 miners in my shift, but only a few party members. Probably 90 percent of the people listen to various radio stations, and they say they are well informed. It is good that the press and TV deny various tales and calumnies, but they often do this too late. There are few of us communists on the shifts, and for that reason, we should know more so as to participate in discussions, change opinions, explain and convince. This is why so much has been said about party training, about the need for rapid information. There cannot be any drowning out."

These opinions, expressed by members of the newly elected OOP executive board of Section KS-10 at the Straszic mine immediately after the meeting, were a partial summary of what was said and what was selected for future action.

The previous 2½ years of executive board activity occurred during an extremely difficult period. The OOP decreased from 44 members to 29 and 2 candidates, 3 turned in their credentials, and the rest retired or became OOP members of other sections (8 persons). Meanwhile, no member was accepted into the OOP; this was the subject of self-criticism expressed in the report of the executive board, which, however, saw the possibility of discussions with a number of young miners in the section. The report stated concisely that the past 2½ years were a difficult work period for party members. In January 1982, there was a change in the status of the first secretary of the OOP; this function was delegated to the leader, Comrade Czeslaw Kucikta. The executive board at this time disseminated in the OOP the content of the resolution and decisions of the Ninth PZPR Congress and the resolution of regular plenary meetings of the Central Committee. Of great assistance in this respect was Comrade Zbigniew Hanf, miner-lifeguard, member of the Central Committee, who gave "firsthand" information. But ideological work in this area was weak, if we understand it as regular party training, of which there was none. Only meetings.

Conversations were heated and discussions immensely lively. Attendance from the point of view of the four-brigade system was inadequate.

The OOP agreed to close cooperation with the youth organization and with the newly created trade union organization, and this cooperation is progressing. In the opinion expressed in the report, comrades working in these organizations are doing very good work for the good of the workers, the party and the country. The report addressed specific words of recognition to the youth organization directed by Comrade Szmigel, which increased its membership and came forward with many interesting initiatives. The KG-10 executive board actively participates in the work of the section collective, and together with the ZSMP /Union of Socialist Polish Youth/ and NSZZ /Independent Self-Governing Trade Union/ of the section, participates in awarding bonuses and cars to workers, and here the form of allotments is generating the least controversy at present. The OOP executive board also participates in resolving many controversial matters in the division, having foremost in mind the welfare of the worker. The report is short and concrete. The discussion is also concrete. The concern was to resolve the country's decisive problems right here at the mine itself in the sense of the clear slogan that "Poland is a sum total of responsibilities, including yours." At this meeting it was evident that this sum total may truly be made up of individual and collective efforts. Most important, however, is activity in the sphere, no matter how ill-defined, or consciousness. It was resolved to begin regular party training; the executive board was enjoined to provide the best instructors, and the most cogent subjects were proposed for selection: conclusions from an analysis of the crises in the Polish People's Republic, problems of guarantees before they developed, and the relations of the Marxist-Leninist party and the church and religion. Most of the attacks and aggressiveness of untrue stereotypes and myths lie within the range of these subjects; it is necessary to know them in order to speak of them forthrightly and convincingly.

At this meeting, evidence of this need was a statement on the secularization of the schools and on tolerance for nonbelievers, since this faction seems to be threatened. Comrade Zdzislaw TukaJ, machine head miner, acting as secretary for ideology of the PZPR KZ /plant committee/, suggested that mining schools be provided with KW and KM /city committee/ instructors in order to begin citizen training as soon as possible.

"Isn't it too late?" someone asks, "are the teachers in basic schools doing their job?"

"It is also possible," Comrade TukaJ continues, "to find places at the annual course for the worker activists at the WVML /Evening University of Marxism-Leninism/."

Plant propaganda must be improved. Radio communication is well equipped, and has good ratings, but its basic work must be improved so that those going on the first shift may be greeted and informed, and at noon the office building could be turned off /as published/, and the program aimed at the workers preparing to go on the second shift.

## Specifics

The youth organization has already used up its fund for vacations and social action, but is not asking for more. After work, we are informed by its representative, they plan to reinforce Wall No 1012 so that it will be extended and accessible, and the money they earn will be earmarked for social action. "No doubt this will be done," adds the director of the section. "The young people have not been doing such things; and with their additional work, they will make up for the personnel shortage of the section."

Specifics. Why are the workers informed too late that they will do union work on All-Souls' Day and St Barbara's Day? People are going about and asking. They have plans for excursions (the meeting was held the previous Thursday).

The resolution of problems of youth is not so simple, and the housing problem is foremost. They are getting married, starting families, and several hundred applications for housing are waiting. Here, in the OOP, this matter is as urgent as it is anywhere, in every section there are miners that are waiting and asking. In the field of interests of the OOP are also social and living conditions. Most of the miners live in the Staszic settlement; since 1960, almost 4,000 units have been put into use, 1,248 in 1981-82. To increase the number of units, a miners' housing cooperative of the Staszic KWK /Hardcoal Mine/ was formed, and an agreement was signed with KSM /Miners Housing Cooperative/ for building a proposed 1,800 units. But time is pressing. Under the sponsorship of the local organization of the PRON /Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth/, whose representative in Staszic is Zdzislaw Sender, the director of the mine, many different kinds of activities have been undertaken in a grand style. House of the Miner No 3 is being converted to living quarters, of which there will be 78. Another 55 units will be made available through major renovation of the so-called emergency settlement where there are two improved units at every stair landing. In the near future, 210 units will be made available in another building.

Remodeling is being done in the former dining room of the House of Miners; this will be a restaurant, lack of which is a bitter complaint of the miners living in Staszic. Jointly with the Wieczorek mine, work is going forward on the remodeling of the building that housed the former movie theater in the Miners' Garden; this will be the House of Culture, with a delicatessen. The scouts were given the former club in the villa of the prewar owner of the mine; this has grounds, a tennis court and pool. Retired miners made a fence. The mine, on its part, has broadly extended its activity in environmental protection. On the initiative of the PRON the Janina pond has been cleaned and stocked with fish, and the Malgorzata pond will be filled in, and the area will be partly individual garden plots and partly building

sites. The nearby park forest will be preserved. A water purification plant will be built since this is a most urgent matter. Future plans include converting the House of the Teacher to a preschool, and building a new one.

In the Staszic mine there are many enthusiasts for this kind of action, and those who manage the residential area have been infected with this enthusiasm and have made squares and minigardens.

At the OOP meeting of Section KG-10, these matters were discussed within the context of selecting members who have been given or will be given party assignments. The conviction was expressed that specific positive activity that bring visible results is the best argument in the political struggle for the meaning of socialism, for the prospects of the country and society.

The discussion went on about the older miners who have retired; about their need for help after 35 years of irreproachable work; about bringing up the young, helping them so that they would not be discouraged by the first difficulties in the mine.

Someone told me that this discussion is different from our meetings before 1980 at which there was a report and then the talk was about pickaxes, shovels and screws. It is different from the discussions of 2 years ago when people were overwhelmed by attacks on them for belonging to the party, and the existence of the party was being undermined. We do not want to return to those times. But we do want to be heard. And we are not always heard. Here in the mine, workers have the feeling that the rigors of martial law affected only the workers. At the same time, speculation went on unpunished, and it still rages; fortunes are made at the cost of the worker and no one listens to our demands that this be stopped. There is no longer any talk about Zulawy for loiterers. The supervisors and the battalion, it seems, have forgotten experience and treat the worker improperly. Information is withheld, we do not know about everything, and not everyone has access to the telex. Secretary Tukaj received only two copies of "Kubiak's report," and everyone would have liked to have read these in order to learn from mistakes and not repeat them.

The examiners commission has returned. An executive board of five members has been chosen. Of these, four are incumbents. Comrade Czeslaw Kuchta was elected unanimously. Then the secretary was elected. Again it was Czeslaw Kuchta. He is young, a mining carpenter. He thanked those at the meeting: "Frankly speaking, I did not expect such a vote. By this vote, you have thanked the whole executive board. It means that our work was not so bad."

In the conclusions, there was the so-called, "defense of peace and security of Poland and organization of regional antiwar rallies." The threat to international security is becoming ever more evident to party members.



After the meeting, a young comrade said, "The ideology of imperialism is an ideology of struggle with socialist countries with ever more brutal methods. Marxist-Leninist ideology responds first of all to the meaning and dignity of life. This meaning of life cannot be destroyed. Is it worth thinking about building a future, both a personal future, housing and family life, to dream about something and plan, when the Pershing is aimed at us? We were occupied completely with internal and dramatic difficulties. Now we are thinking about that greatest threat, and for this reason we join the protest against war.

#### Workers Comments at Reports-Elections Meeting

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 4 Nov 83 p 1

/Article: "At My Reports-Elections PZPR Meeting I Said:"/

/Text/ We Have a Positive Effect on Our Surroundings; Stanislaw Sowa, an electrician in the iron casting section of the Buczka Steel Works in Sosnowiec, says: "Our OOP has 24 members and it has influence in a 70-person work force. The section is small, and so is the party organization, but it works effectively. Despite the recent, very difficult 2.5-year period, we had no work stoppages or disturbances at work. PZPR members and nonparty workers were decidedly against them. Speaking of new tasks, we must remember that for effective action in the ideological sphere, the party organization needs direct, clear information about what is going on in the country and in the world. This information should reach us through party channels or through the party press so that we would have arguments early enough to counteract adverse propaganda and the erroneous thinking to which it leads some people. Thus far the situation here has not been very good. Frequently, information reaches us late and is not clear enough.

"There were great deficiencies in organizing party training, and this must certainly be improved. It is also necessary to deal with inadequacies in intraparty discipline, failure of members to attend meetings, and late payment of dues. Thus, we have much work before us."

#### Dependability in Work Cannot Be a Bad Thing

Roman Slawa, the director of a section in the quality inspection division of the Wegierska Gorka iron casting plant: "Recently the quality inspectors have become active in a single OOP. This was necessary because our problems are so specific and the structure within which we work in the enterprise is not very happy. The function we carry out is very responsible, serious, and everyone talks about this, but this is followed, ironically, by low, very low pay, and our honesty is taken as a fault. I could understand this among rank-and-file workers, since less is charged for defective goods. But there is a worse and more demoralizing paradox: the matter

of regular and motivational bonuses. Their size depends on the number of defects. The fewer defects, the higher the bonus. Thus we are between the hammer and the anvil. If we work better and with greater precision, we will catch more defective items, and the bonus for the department will drop, including our bonus. In concern for our own pockets, it would be simpler not to notice defects. We trust that this unfortunate matter will be forwarded by our department secretary to the plant committee, and will finally be changed."

#### Ratings Must Be Strict, But Just

Czeslaw Jankowski, a lathe operator in the transportation department of the Myszkowska Enamelware Works: "Concerns of the department and general problems were presented at the reports-elections meeting of our OOP; there was a 90 percent attendance.

"Specifically, I said that our department is poorly rated by the management. We who work under difficult conditions do everything we can to make transport do its job. The work of the department must be seen from the point of view of one working in it. This means that deficiencies and improprieties must be judged strictly, but at the same time, the reasons for them must be detected and help must be given to eliminate mistakes. From a higher level, the picture is sometimes different.

"The technical workers of the plant have a great influence on attitudes and feelings. For this reason party organizations must require greater involvement by members recommended for management positions, and must account more honestly for their carrying out party tasks."

#### Katowice Meeting on Campaign Progress

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 4 Nov 83 pp 1,2

/Article by D O : "The PZPR KW Executive Board in Katowice; Efficacy of Political Work; Course of the Reports-Elections Campaign"

/Text/ Giving special attention to the efficacy of party work, the executive board of the PZPR KW in Katowice carries out its daily activities from this point of view and in this way discusses specific problems during its regular meetings. In the course of conferences on 3 November, the executive board spent much time specifically on the analysis and evaluation of effective political work done by party organizations in people's councils, in administrations of social organizations, youth organizations, and in organizations such as the civic centers at Katowice, Sosnowiec and Bytom. The party activists in these organizations, and their initiative and effective action are decisive factors with respect to the strength of the party, and the possibilities of influencing the activity of representative organs of

government or of the organization. For this reason, party teams play and should continue to play an enormous role. This kind of party work proves itself eminently, for example, in the activity of people's councils, perhaps because, as has been observed, it is just there that the most experienced party members are, even if it is acknowledged that they are not very active. It is difficult, however, to evaluate uniformly the activity of party teams making up the activists in youth organizations since they have been functioning for a relatively short time. Nevertheless, they have already made significant achievements, especially in the Katowice town organization. As usual, getting into the problem in detail, the executive board concentrated its attention on those centers in which the situation is not satisfactory. In cooperative work, for example, or in sport clubs, and especially among academic youth, there is an urgent need for putting across party policies and for ideoeducational activity. These matters were particularly stressed during the discussion, keeping in mind that it is exactly the youth centers and their organizations, including sport clubs, that have recently become points of infiltration of forces inimical to socialism.

Concluding this part of the discussion, the chairman of the conference, Zbigniew Messner, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee and secretary of the PZPR KW, once again reminded the members of party discipline, of the obligation, derived from party resolutions, to form and work consistently in party units of various organs and organizations because, after all, one is not a party member only at meetings. The executive board admitted that matters of activity of party members in their work places and allotting party strength must be a subject of constant attention and evaluation by provincial, city, and regional units.

The next point at the conference was information on the preparations and the progress thus far of the reports-elections campaign. Attention was turned to the workmanlike character of the campaign, the content of the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee that dominated it, and intraparty and management matters. Members of party administrations were also reminded of the responsibility of active participation in the meetings and conferences of various centers and at various levels.

Also, the executive board accepted information pertaining to the results of the consultation, "Instruction of the PZPR Central Committee in the Matter of the Amounts and Principles of Computing Party Dues." The consultations involved 6,000 party members in Katowice Province, and the comprehensive and critical information that results from it will be sent to the Central Committee, which is empowered to make a decision in this matter. The executive board favorably received the conclusions of the organizing department of the KW with respect to forming PZPR plant committees in the Cieczott mine in the Miedzno Gmina and in the Bytom clothing industry plants, and it accepted the concept of regular circuit meetings in the zinc works in Miasteczko Slaskie.

The executive board discussed the actual sociopolitical situation in the province. Decisions were made on personnel matters.

## PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES NOTED

## Straightening Out Union Matters

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 20 Oct 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by S. Jermakowicz: "Sorting Out Professional Matters"]

[Text] The trade union movement has recently undergone various transformations. At the Elblag Renoma cooperative's plant in Zalew, popularly known as the tannery, however, it has always been uniform--unimportant and dependent on developments within the Elblag main office, whether under the CRZZ [Central Council of Trade Unions] or under Solidarity. While slogans and banners kept changing, union activities limped on behind. At any rate, they were of little profit to the work force. Even the simplest ventures, say, arranging for a field trip, tended to fail. The situation changed to some extent with the establishment of an Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of Leather Industry Employees in Elblag. Its Zalew unit was registered at court on 1 February 1983 and was constituted on 14 February. Out of necessity, the Zalew unit had to learn to be independent from the start, because at the time trade unionism had not yet resurged at its parental Renoma cooperative. Counting on their own forces has begun to bear fruit. Although the new trade union was joined by nearly 45 percent of the 410-strong work force (all, or almost all, employees had belonged to the CRZZ union and, subsequently, to the Solidarity union), the presence of the trade union organization in the life of the Zalew tannery is felt in this largest industrial plant of a gmina village with more than 2,000 residents.

Signs of this presence are visible for now mostly in minor details, but those are the primary components of larger concerns, moods, and perceptions. For instance, field trips which had become a bore elsewhere while at Zalew they were unknown or at least unremembered by employees of long standing, finally found their way into programs for social activities. Thanks to endeavors of the union board, employees' children were able to tour Frombork and Elblag in Summer, using the cooperative's motorcoach stationed at its headquarters, formerly impossible for the Zalew unit to obtain. In the past, excuses were readily accepted about engine failures or lack of tires. Note that in recruiting for the trips no distinctions were made between union and nonunion children. Another trip is in the works, to take some adults to Warsaw.

With young adults composing a substantial percentage of the work force, plans are being made for creating a sports and recreation unit. It has been found that resources for purchases of equipment should be available. Young and middle-aged adults from 19 to 46, primarily blue-collar workers, are the bulk of union membership at Zalew Tannery. Few older persons and only five white-collar employees have joined the union. Several crew leaders have joined, but not a single master foreman. A five-person board elected by secret ballot: Stanislaw Radecki, chairman, Zygmunt Glab, Jadwiga Jurek, Maksymilian Przybylski, and Adam Urbanowicz, is composed of shop floor workers and a crew leader, all but two in their early twenties. The oldest, chairman Stanislaw Radecki, 46, is a blue-collar worker in charge of preparing and selecting combinations of dyes and pastes for leather. According to a shift master, he is irreplaceable as an expert in this field, generally recognized and respected.

Those who have found their way into the union and are now developing it are, in effect, the people who the most urgently feel a need to straighten out labor union issues, on occasion, on a basic level like creational leave. In 1983, the tannery received no allotments for employee vacations from Elblag, not for the first time, in fact. Actually, there was no special insistence to obtain vacation allotments, because people have become used to their unavailability. They are pleased to be able at least to send their children to seaside camps. Many among the older seasoned employees are unlikely to be persuaded to go on vacation. They have never been on vacation and they appear to fear that they would not feel well in resort homes. They spend their vacation in plot gardens contributing additional income to family budgets, for clearly, no one supporting himself from manual labor is doing too well in these expensive times. The younger ones with curiosity about the world would certainly like to "get some air" and change their surroundings, but they cannot be bothered to spend the time and effort to wrangle a vacation allotment. If allotments were obtainable locally with no hassles, things would be different. Chairman Stanislaw Radecki is considering such facilitation and planning to visit the cooperative's executive social fund to which the Zalew work force contributes its share. Except that he had to give up a day of his own leave time for this trip, as he is allowed only a half hour per day for union activities. Not all things can be handled by telephone. Social work demands sacrifice. Nobody will substitute for Radecki in his professional capacity. He must combine his job duties with social duties because, under the present piecework remuneration system, any lapse in the former negatively affects pay.

It is much easier for Radecki to monitor issues within the purview of local authority. The more so, because he encounters understanding and helpful attitudes in the tannery management and POP [Primary Party Organization]. Union opinion was taken into consideration during a readjustment of wages last July. Employees at the bottom of the wage scale, performing just as well as others, gained the most from the adjustment. This approach was generally seen as satisfying a sense of social justice.

Partial success was scored in efforts to restore milk allotments, abolished early last January on the grounds that workplace conditions at Zalew were good enough to be ranked nondetrimental to health. A commission appointed by the cooperative board was forced to recognize the validity of some union claims. At first 50 percent and then an additional 10 percent of the work force employed

in the tanning division had their milk allotments restored, though not those working in the finishing department.

Because of the union's intervening with the plant management, the work force has been receiving a better supply of footwear and uniforms since last May. The people have expressed a modest wish to see efforts to obtain ailment-preventing shoes and sanitary supplies. In summer, there is a scarcity of cool beverages, especially needed in the finishing department where hides dry in high temperatures and windows are opened in the winter to get some air. Deliveries of mineral water from the Gmina Cooperative in Morag are sporadic, while the GS store in Zalew offers nothing but lemonade and beer. No manner of pleading seems to help. The chairman himself took three trips to Morag with no success. He was shown empty storage rooms.

As much as possible, the union assists people in obtaining scarce goods like underwear, pantyhose and stockings, helping the entire work force regardless of union membership. For that purpose, the union had made some contacts with the trade network from which occasional shipments come to the tannery under the scheme of routed sales. The union also makes sure that the plant's store is stocked with grocery staples and generally succeeds. Vegetables, however, are again unavailable, though they were put on stock last summer thanks to the chairman's insistence.

The union's role is not confined to hassling about basic economic concerns which are actually not the easiest ones to handle in a time of shortages. On occasion, the union has to deal with more sensitive issues affecting the mood at the workplace. For instance, a foreman-rank supervisor recently told her personnel they would receive no bonus for August, amounting to 30 percent of their wages, because they did not fulfill the plan. She said so following her instincts, with no prior calculation of production quotas for August. Her subordinates knew their end of the story, however. They appealed to the union and were found to be right. The August production results were computed by the director himself, and the bonuses were paid.

Yet not all of the union's ventures contribute to its popularity and acclaim. The union does not shy from stating things unpleasant to the work force. Cases of indiscipline and disorderliness are regularly raised at meetings. The union takes a particularly tough stand in its campaign against alcoholism and smoking against prohibition, with no illusions, however, that union "pestering" put an end to a plague of alcoholism. Certainly more effective were the sanctions prescribed by the antialcoholism law. Words are also persuasive on occasion, especially if backed by general approval. The union has allies outside of its membership as well, e.g., on account of its effort to develop a habit of good performance among young workers. They are among the union's charges because of the absence of a youth organization. This is acclaimed by all older employees who cannot stand shoddy work and irresponsibility.

The young ones do not have an easy time of it either. Most of them have no apartments and commute to Zalew from remote villages. They look forward to the union offering them a chance to have a stable dwelling. Time flies on, bringing no prospects of a real house of one's own, and their hopes are



routinely dashed by the statement: construction cannot be expanded in Zalew because there is no sewer treatment plant. This is a tough issue, so the unionists do not know yet how to go at it. Another concern is the departure last August of a physician from the plant's outpatient clinic. Employees must now travel for medical assistance to Morag, for the Zalew health center has medical technicians only. A search for a doctor for the plant continues, still unsuccessful.

#### More Authority Among Unions

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 21-23 Oct 83 p 1, 3

[Article by (Wab. tur): "Union Forum at Korab; Greater Activism--More Prestige"]

[Text] In a year since the enactment of Sejm legislation on trade unions, 649 union organizations have been established and 15 more are about to be registered in our province. At this time, union membership is 91,500 employees, accounting for more than 30 percent of total employment in manufacturing plants and other institutions of the national economy in our province.

A national advisory session for union activists, attended by representatives of the country's highest political and administrative authorities, was held at Baildon Steel Works last August. The motions on many vital issues reported by the working people that were made at the session have been accepted for implementation at a recent joint conference of PZPR CC Politburo and the Government Presidium with the participation of chairmen of registered nationwide union organizations.

The Korab cultural center was visited yesterday by chairmen of union boards from our region, invited by PZPR Provincial Committee First Secretary and Szczecin Governor to respond to a fundamental question: "What should be done so that the trade movement continues to develop, expand, and acquire prestige at the workplace? What obstructions is it encountering in its path?"

First Secretary Stanislaw Miskiewicz opened the debate by emphasizing consistent activities of the party which specified at the Tenth CC Plenum its position on the emerging trade union movement and obligated itself at the same time to give it extensive assistance.

Subsequently, Vice Governor Andrezej Glowacki presented the province's current sociopolitical situation, devoting much attention to economic results of the past 3 quarters of 1983.

Developments in trade unionism in the province were discussed by Wlodzimierz Formicki, president of Szczecin Provincial Court, the chairman of the Provincial Information and Counseling Task Force on Trade Unions formed at the Presidium of Provincial People's Council. The task force, composed in part of lawyers who have a record of social work, has repeatedly assisted the emerging trade union movement. Now the unions expect its help on other issues,



as they are sometimes unable to delimit their position with a plant or lacking clarity at the trade union interface with self-government. On such issues, the task force will continue to offer counseling and assistance, reaching plant management and clarifying doubts.

Some issues require broader solutions, e.g., the status of union organizations with fewer than 50 members.

Union tasks resulting from the legislation on societal labor inspection were presented by the province's labor inspector Tadeusz Kieszko. Labor inspection by elements of society, he said, should immediately begin to support government labor inspection directly in the workplace. The level of occupational health and safety is inadequate, accident figures are rising. Union organizations must conduct elections of societal labor inspectors as soon as possible.

This topic was frequently raised in the discussion.

Occupational safety and health are in the focus of interest of union organizations. Doubts were expressed whether the new legal setting affecting the elections would limit unionists' influence on the operation of societal labor inspection and generate conflicts.

There were also comments about government inspection bodies' occasional failures to remember about the unions existing in work establishments.

According to Jan Malecki, Port Authority, a check of labor inspection activities was made at his workplace, but its results were not made known to the union. A similar situation developed at PZM [Polish Maritime Company] where the union organization had applied to a government inspection body for a copy of its post-inspection report and never received one.

Fairly oppressive conditions still exist in many plants, as indicated by Zofia Wereszczak, Szczecin Graphic Works, where lead-poisoning is a health hazard. Unionists of this industrial branch took a negative stand on a draft wage system for the socialized sector, offered for discussion.

Comments on ceilings for emoluments and on computation of length-of-service bonuses were offered.

The unionists repeatedly inquired about future price levels, an issue on which trade unions would like to have their say locally within their plants, as plants are one source of price-setting. Price commissions operating in them have never lowered the price of a single product. On occasion, high prices in neighboring plants have been pointed out.

The unions cannot, however, limit themselves to the confines of their plants. The need for consultation was repeatedly stressed during the discussion, with doubts whether a consultation can be held prior to the announced price hikes for January. There is little time left, and, it was asserted, all decisions on prices, wages, and costs of living cannot and should not be imposed without coming to terms with the unions.

E. Homa, representing the Polish Teachers Union at the Higher Pedagogical School, pointed out the necessity of consultations of executive ordinances issued under the legislation on higher education.

Housing problems are a major concern of workforces. There were many comments demanding preferential treatment for persons working in hazardous conditions, supported by assertions that "waiting-line" fairness was illusory. These problems are perhaps to be solved by plant-handled construction.

The situation is considerably more aggravated in rural areas.

Zygmunt Szajda, KPGR [Combined State Farms] Wolczyn, reported that 80 percent of Wolczyn dwellings must be urgently overhauled. Many have no water hook-ups, others have leaking roofs because 300 rolls of tarpaper were unavailable. Union members at Wolczyn KPGR are in a particularly difficult situation. Negative financial net results adversely impact on activities supported from the communal-amenities [social] fund. Several months before the end of the year the fund is already depleted. Basic amenities are lacking at Wolczyn physical plants: employees wash up using bowls outdoors after more than a dozen hours of hard work. This results in discouragement, lax discipline, and low productivity. Z. Szajda has appealed to Szczecin Governor to help steer Wolczyn KPGR out of its critical situation, caused by chaos and poor management.

Difficulties in apartment repairs are also raised by a representative of KPGR Radoslaw, who demanded priority purchasing of sinks, bathtubs, lime, and other items. Housing problems are found in KPGR Wegorzyno as well, where 70 percent of all dwellings are well over 100 years old, and planned investment in residential construction projects cannot come to fruition.

At KPGR Chociwel, apartments are being built, but their completion has been delayed to the extent that there is tremendous dissatisfaction among a workforce with many long-distance commuters.

Unionized farmers daily encounter many problems of this kind. Their opportunities to discuss them before groups that can help are infrequent, as was pointed out to us in the course of these conversations. The session at Korab was especially important for them.

We are unable to present all of the problems raised in the debate, so we will focus on issues concerning the union organizations themselves. Maciej Manicki from Gryfia spoke about a need to broaden union authority. Marek Kozlowski, PZM, saw a need to protect union activists who complete their terms. Protection has already been assured for employee council members.

Jadwiga Jankowska, Unikon Containers Factory, spoke about a special climate surrounding trade unions at her plant. In the unionists' opinion, Unikon management supports existing informal arrangements and is taking steps to discredit the need for existence of trade unions.

The management and employee council make numerous decisions on wage and work conditions without any consultation with union members, contrary to Sejm legislation.

Jan Malecki, union chairman at ZPS [Szczecin Port Authority] stated that a time for empty applause at meetings and a time for total grumbling were both at an end. The time has come for vigorous union activity. There is a specific barrier to growth of union movement, however. At Szczecin Port, that barrier is the very low percentage of technical supervisory personnel in the union membership.

Specific questions addressed to provincial authorities were handled by Vice Governor Glowacki. He outlined a proposal for allotment of apartments to teachers and proposals to build 50 schools by 1995, and clarified a number of issues raised by session participants.

Taking a stand on selected motions, he pledged to arrange special advisory sessions attended by experts in order to review the problems in detail.

At the close of the session, First Secretary Miskiewicz affirmed that no issue would remain unanswered. He dealt at some length with the painful problem of housing construction, stating that all interested institutions including work establishments had a shared task of achieving annual construction of 7,500 apartments in the province. Once this figure is reached, there will be a chance to eliminate this problem, regarded by society as the most acute one, by 1995.

S. Miskiewicz urged consolidation of a line of thinking and conduct according to which anything taking place in the province would be the responsibility of the authorities along with social organizations and society at large. He also said that trade unions should become more combative in their plants, for no other posture would help improve their prestige.

#### Progress, Barriers in Union Development

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 22-23 Oct 83 p 6

[Text] Representatives of 34 nationwide union organizations approved by the Council of State to start operating in 1983 met on 20 October in Warsaw. The meeting, attended by Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary, had for its chief topic the implementation of Politburo and Government Presidium decisions on motions made at the union activists' session in Baildon Steel Works and on work establishments' activities in communal amenities. The meeting offered an opportunity for an exchange of views on the advances in and hindrances to trade union movement and on the problems of daily interest to work forces and union locals.

The union movement had 3.5 million members in late September. Increases in union membership are, of course, not uniform, but to date more than 30 percent of work forces in 25 provinces are union members, including 5 provinces

with nearly 40 percent union membership. Party members account for 30-40 percent of total union membership. The formation of higher organizational echelons is escalating, with 19 nationwide union organizations, federations for the most part, registered to date. The Council of State has received motions from 43 interfactory structures for early approval of early startup of activity. Preparatory work in various stages of advancement is underway in 86 nationwide union organizations.

According to Stanislaw Gabrielski, PZPR Central Committee Socio-Occupational Department chief, results of opinion polls among union activists provide a confirmation that the chief obstacle to further advances of the union movement continues to be distrust by some work forces which still do not believe in the unions' ability to defend worker concerns and interests effectively. Thus, the only path leading to enhanced authority of the unions is to create social facts, confirming through daily actions in handling the concerns of working people that they are genuine workers unions. This also requires resolute opposition to the efforts of a segment of the administration to bypass trade unions and disregard union legislation.

The implementation of PZPR Central Committee Politburo and Government Presidium decisions had been initiated. Soon, consultations with the unions will begin, affecting next year's budget assumptions and proposals for price changes. Consultation on the premises of a wage reform is underway. Among detailed concerns vital for the conditions in which unions operate, it is worth noting the ongoing training of directors of larger plants to acquaint them with the trade unions' functions and authority range.

Indoctrination of union activists is also in progress. According to Professor Zbigniew Salwa, Social Consultative Commission chairman, preparations are advancing to form a union study center whose research will be programmed and appraised by an interunion indoctrination council composed of representatives of nationwide organizations. Participants in the Warsaw session proposed this idea, announcing at the same time that a national union weekly would be established, provided that its nature and profile were earlier decided on by the union program council.

Recurring in the debate were the words of Rajmund Moric (Trade Union Federation of Hard-Coal Mines, Mine-Working Enterprises, and Mine Shaft Builders): We are the unions doomed to succeed. Success under the present socioeconomic conditions is extremely difficult, however. R. Moric referred to problems in contacts with the administration, especially on its higher levels, where segments of the cadres have already become used to the absence of trade unions.

The need to form a pattern of consultation with the unions which would assure them genuine influence on decisions affecting the working people was as frequent a strand in the discussion as it was at the Balidon Steel Works session.

There were numerous comments on the complex pattern of relationships between employee self-government and trade unions. According to surveys, these relationships are developing properly in nearly 75 percent of the plants.

Confrontational situations are not infrequent, however, e.g., in cases where self-government bodies try to grab unquestionable union rights concerning communal amenities. In this connection, voices are heard stipulating that legislation on unions and work force self-government be amended. This would be premature, however, considering that both of these representational structures are in their early stage. In keeping with Politburo and Government Presidium recommendations, preparations have been made to arrive at joint determination of uniform interpretations of these laws by the Sejm Commission on Employee Self-Government and by the Social Consultative Commission, which should remove many sources of misunderstandings.

Kazimierz Barcikowski took a position on central problems raised in the debate. The unions' fundamental function, he emphasized, is the defense of employee rights, but it cannot be their only function. If the unions start seeking success in this field only, the success may turn against working people and against the unions. It is not enough to pay some attention to wages under inflationary conditions, rather, care must be taken to obtain wisely structured wages, conducive to increasing the supply of goods in the market. These wages must also be equitable, doing justice to good performance, as opposed to mere checking in for work which is a common practice these days.

K. Barcikowski stressed the enormous importance of trade union participation in the building of worker democracy and development of a sense of sharing, as collaborators and codeterminers, both in the process of work and in management. This is the purpose to be served by all forms of self-government, and this is the context in which the relationships between trade unions and employee self-government should be seen.

#### Unionists Present Opinions, Demands

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 24 Oct 83 p 7

[Article by (Dak): "They Want to Have Their Say; Zoliborz District Unionists Present Their Opinions, Stipulations"]

[Text] To assure for themselves a voice to be reckoned with whenever vital problems of working people are being solved--such was the purpose of a meeting that brought together Zoliborz unionists, representatives of city and district authorities, and members of the capital and district party organizations. The meeting, held last Friday, was originated by union activists from MZK [Municipal Transit], Warsaw Steel Works, Institute of Meteorology and Water Management, and ZREMB [Construction Mechanization Works].

The unionists presented the problems with which their organizations are coping with mixed results. Issues in need of a solution were raised. In their opinion, a broader problem involved the trade unions' position within work establishments, or more precisely, the need to raise their prestige. Opinions were voiced about the need to strengthen union impact through legal channels as well. In the existing situation, union collaboration with plant administration does not follow partnership principles in some plants. Where it is lacking, unions feel (as their activists put it), powerless.

Of course, housing problems were among the debated issues. It was pointed out how difficult it was to obtain building site permits for new housing cooperatives and how difficult it was to come to terms with existing cooperatives in connection with allotments of apartments. Who gets an allotment is no less important than where it is. There were justified motions for Zoliborz workers to be assigned dwellings in their district rather than in Ursynow, the opposite end of town. To achieve this, a flexible policy of apartment allotments on an intercooperative basis is needed.

Much attention was focused on the operation of industrial health service, which is lacking specialist physicians, who are unwilling to take jobs in plants. There have been cases of neighboring enterprises "buying doctors off."

Transit systems are accused of poor adherence to schedule, which complicates commuting to and from work. Stops are poorly located in several cases. A side issue that surfaced while these charges were made was the lack of proper facilities for MZK drivers.

Wage problems were among the issues discussed at the Zoliborz meeting, as were also retirees' and pensioners' difficulties in dealing with ZUS [Social Security], issued connected with consumer goods supply to the district and operation of the trade system. The unionists were interested in the future of what is known as routed sales and in possibilities of establishing new plot gardens.

These stipulations were put on record. What comes next? Those participating in the meeting resolved to meet again in 2 months to assess what was done and what to do next.

8795

CSO: 2600/248



## REGRESSION IN CONSTRUCTION OF NEW HOSPITALS NOTED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish No 259, 1 Nov 83 p 5

[Article by Jota: "Snail's Path in Building Hospitals; Old Troubles; Unrespected Priorities"]

[Text] After 2 years of successes in building, we observe once more a huge regression in the investments for health service. Despite many decisions granting special priorities, in particular for building hospitals, the situation returned, in a way, to the standard. Old troubles--lack of workers, deficiency of materials and bad results, are still characteristic for hospital building sites.

This situation has already lasted for years, and only the two previous years have been an exception. In 1981, the health service received 4,500 new hospital beds, and in the past year 3,500. These numbers are some sort of record. But at present there are no more reasons for satisfaction. During the last 10 months the building enterprises handed over new hospital investments provided for 1,136 beds. This means that the ambitious plans for delivering 5,200 beds this year are in considerable doubt. The chances for fulfilling the program "minimum" for health service investments are thus very dubious. Handing over nearly 27,000 hospital beds in the years 1981-1985, therefore, becomes far from possible.

Also the realization of other investments being a part of the present year's plan does not run in the expected way. Up to now the health service has received only 41 percent of the places in social care homes (399 places), 56 percent of those in clinics (30), 44 percent of those in medical centers (22) and 45 percent of those in nurseries (18).

There are several reasons for this situation and most of them are well known. First of all, the building enterprises have great difficulties in purchasing finishing materials: all kinds of paints (bottom, surface, emulsion), cables, glue, glaze and terracotta. The domestic building materials industry did not care for the past year's Decision No 52 of the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers, which determined the parameters of some finishing materials used for building hospitals. Low "soakable" terracotta is still not available. Luckily, the two ministries, of health and of building, jointly imported anti-static floors for operating rooms from Czechoslovakia.



Much harm is being done to hospital investments by the stealthily developing investment front, which is drawing away both workers and materials from these building sites that are so important to the society. In the present situation, the 15-year-long realization period for hospital investments that the building enterprises are rising against is becoming a fact after all. The hospital in Sokolow Podlaski is the present record holder--it has been in construction since 1971 and there are no indications that it will be completed next year. Also the hospitals in Wroclaw and Biala Podlaska (1971), in Kolobrzeg, Lublin and Miechow (1975) and in Lipsk, Lipno, Suwalki and Siedlce (1976) can be noted on the list of record holders. It is worth mentioning here that the so-called investment cycle for a hospital with 600 beds is planned to be 3 years. Among the above-listed hospitals there are many that are to provide for only 350 patients.

12376

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AMENDED DECREE ON MINISTRY OF ELECTRIC POWER PUBLISHED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 78, 17 Oct 83 pp 1-8

[Council of State Decree modifying and completing Decree No 649/1969 regarding the organization and operation of the Ministry of Electric Energy]

[Text] Decree of the Council of State for the Modification and Completion of Decree No 649/1969 Regarding the Organization and Operation of the Ministry of Electric Energy

The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Sole Article. - Decree No 649/1969 regarding the organization and operation of the Ministry of Electric Energy, which became Law No 44/1969 and was republished in BULETINUL OFICIAL Part I, No 91 of 11 August 1972, with later modifications, is hereby modified and completed, with the following:

Chapter I

General Provisions

Article 1. - The Ministry of Electric Energy carries out the policy of the party and state in the field of electric and thermal energy and organizes and is responsible for all production, transport and distribution of electric and thermal energy for the purpose of satisfying the requirements of industry, agriculture, transportation, construction and the other branches of the national economy and the population, in accordance with the future and current plans for the country's economic-social development.

Article 2. - The Ministry of Electric Energy serves the function of the sole administrator of all sources of energy and ensures the rational use and conservation of all categories of energy sources and the maximally efficient use of electric and thermal energy by all consumers in accordance with the scientifically established consumption norms that have been drawn up and approved according to

law; it pursues the reduction of the specific consumption rates in technological processes, as well as the elimination of any form of waste and irrational consumption on the job, in the private homes of the citizens or in any other economic and social activities.

Article 3. - The Ministry of Electric Energy ensures the unified management and coordination of the operation of all energy installations which belong to the national energy system, the equipping of them with automated equipment and measurement and control devices that will guarantee the safe and economical operation of the system overall and by regions, and the prevention of damage and interruptions in operations so as to have a continuity in the supply of electric and thermal energy to all categories of consumers.

The Ministry of Electric Energy is responsible for effective intervention in the case of incidents or damage in the national energy system in order to carry out repairs to defects and to reestablish normal operations for the powered-equipment and installations in the shortest possible time.

Similarly, it takes measures to strengthen order and discipline in production, as well as to have a strict respect at every place of work for technical use norms, technical work safety standards and norms for the prevention and extinguishing of fires, as well as work standards and norms.

Article 4. - The Ministry of Electric Energy has the function of the central coordinating organ in the field of electric and thermal energy in the case of all socialist units subordinate to the central or local state organs and the cooperative and public organizations.

Article 5. - In the production of electric and thermal energy, the Ministry of Electric Energy ensures the maximum use of hydro-energy potential, inferior coals, bituminous shale, the use of recoverable and reuseable energy resources, the increase in the percentage of nuclear energy and the use of solar, geothermal, wind and other unconventional sources of energy.

By extending the use of the energy resources listed in paragraph one and, especially, coals, the Ministry of Electric Energy ensures the reduction of the use of hydrocarbons and the change over of certain electric and thermal power plants from the use of hydrocarbons to the use of coals or other solid fuels.

The Ministry of Electric Energy pursues the development of the combined production of electric and thermal energy, the continuing improvement of the efficiency and operating conditions of the installations in the national energy system and the reduction of our own technological consumption rates.

Article 6. - For energy purposes, the Ministry of Electric Energy ensures the exploitation of geothermal and degasified waters that are supplied from the well head to the users' installations, after the completion of geological research and the determination of the conditions for their exploitation, and resolves, together with the other ministries and interested local and central

organs, the problems regarding the provision of the specific exploitation equipment for surface work and the establishment of user units and delivery prices, as well as regarding maximally efficient use of the heat contained in these waters.

Article 7. - The Ministry of Electric Energy substantiates and draws up draft plans for increasing electric and thermal energy production in correlation with the development of the branches of the national economy and the country's counties and localities.

Similarly, it pursues the attainment of certain minimum energy consumption rates at the level of the best rates attained in the world for new investment projects in all fields of activity and for the assimilation and approval of new technological products and processes that use electric and thermal energy or transform energy resources or any type, noting their technical-economic documentation from an energy point of view.

Article 8. - The Ministry of Electric Energy manages, guides and reviews the activity of the industrial centrals, trusts and enterprises, as well as other units subordinate to it, and, as the plan holder, is responsible for the achievement of the plan in all its activities.

Article 9. - The Ministry of Electric Energy ensures in its activity the implementation of the laws, decrees and decisions of the Council of Ministers.

Similarly, it draws up technical instructions, standards and formulas in its specialty referring to the design, construction, use, maintenance and repair of installations for the production, transport and distribution of electric and thermal energy, to the management of the national energy system through its controllers, to the use of electric and thermal energy and to the use of new, recoverable and reuseable sources of energy, as well as to the schedule for operating electric and thermal energy devices that are obligatory for all categories of consumers.

Article 10. - The Ministry of Electric Energy cooperates with the other ministries and central organs, as well as with the local organs, for the purpose of carrying out its attributes.

## Chapter II

### Attributes

Article 11. - The Ministry of Electric Energy carries out, principally, the attributes listed in this decree.

#### A. With Regards to the Production of Electric and Thermal Energy

Article 12. - The Ministry of Electric Energy is responsible for the maximally efficient use of the primary energy materials in the production of electric and thermal energy necessary to the operation of the national energy system and the supply of energy to all categories of consumers, to which end:

- a) it provides the necessary electric power in its own electric plants in order to maintain the balance in the national energy system and to have the inter-connected operation of this system with the energy systems of other countries;
- b) it ensures the operation of electric plants at designed parameters so as to achieve the production of electric and thermal energy within the established structure in the country's sole economic-social development plan;
- c) it takes measures for the proper operation of the coal management system in the thermo-electric and thermal plants and the provision of the standard amounts of fuel stocks so that the supply of these fuels will be done at the level of the facilities scheduled to be put into operation; it cooperates with the Ministry of Mines and the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications for the regular supply of coal to the thermo-electric and thermal plants;
- d) it organizes the reception of coal and other fuels necessary to the thermo-electric and thermal plants corresponding to the technical regulations in effect;
- e) it takes measures for the continuing decrease in the use of additives of hydrocarbons needed by the thermo-electric and thermal plants using coals and other solid fuels;
- f) it pursues the rational use of hydro-electric facilities, the maintenance of the water levels programmed for holding lakes and the optimum use of operating schedules for waterfall hydro-electric plants, keeping in mind the complex use of the hydro-electric potential, to which end it cooperates with the National Council for Water Management;
- g) it works for the continuing decrease of specific consumption rates of fuels and electric energy in the production of electric and thermal energy;
- h) it takes measures to reduce the production of electric and thermal energy on the basis of hydrocarbons and to gradually change the thermo-electric and thermal plants from hydrocarbons to the use of coals and other solid fuels;
- i) it organizes the use of its own electric and thermal power plants, ensuring an increase in availability and the hours of use of the installed electric power, and the expansion of the combined production of electric and thermal energy on the basis of coals and other inferior fuels;
- j) through its own units, it ensures the use of electric heating plants and thermal plants having a total installed flow of a minimum of 100 t/h or 100 Gcal/h which are not integrated in the technological processes of consumers and which supply a number of economic or heating units in urban areas, as well as the surface use, for energy purposes, of geothermal waters supplied from the well head to the users' installations;
- k) it takes measures to meet peak loads during the winter by having the timely execution of repairs and the appropriate operation of all equipment and installations in electric and thermal power plants;

l) it works to raise the technical level of use, to prevent fires and damage in the electric and thermal power plants and to increase operational safety; it follows and analyzes the use of powered equipment, equipment, devices and installations while in use for the production of electric and thermal energy and it takes measures, in cooperation with the supplier ministries, for the improvement of efficiency and economy of them by correcting deficiencies found in them and modernizing them;

m) it follows the performance of hydrotechnical and special constructions while in use and takes measures to prevent damage and increase their operational safety.

#### B. With Regards to the Transport and Distribution of Electrical and Thermal Energy

Article 13. - The Ministry of Electric Energy is responsible for the transport and distribution of electric energy through its own electrical lines, stations and networks, under conditions of safety and economy, to which end:

a) it draws up plans for development, modernization and systematization and ensures the achievement of transport and distribution capacities for the electrical network for the purpose of having the proper operation of the national energy system and the continuing supply of electric energy to consumers within the established parameters;

b) it organizes and ensures the use, maintenance and repair of its own electric energy transport and distribution networks;

c) it works so that the placement, construction and repair of electrical lines, stations and networks will be carried out with respect for the legal provisions regarding the protection of the land;

d) it works to raise the technical level and increase the operational safety of installations, follows and analyzes the performance of equipment, devices and materials that are in use in the electrical energy transport and distribution network, and establishes, in cooperation with the ministries that supply them, measures to increase the efficiency of these products and modernize them;

e) it works for the continuing reduction of its own technological consumption rates for the transport and distribution of electric energy;

f) it organizes and ensures activities for technical-economic relations with consumers regarding the supply of electric energy.

Article 14. - The Ministry of Electric Energy is responsible for the use, under conditions of safety and economy, of the thermal energy networks belonging to the electrical heating plants and its own thermal power plants up to the thermal distribution points exclusively, as well as of those for supplying geothermal waters from the well head to the users, to which end:

a) it establishes the concepts for development, modernization and systematization and ensures the attainment of the capacities for the transportation of thermal energy in order to supply consumers, at the established parameters, with heat in the framework of the distribution levels that have been approved;

b) it organizes and ensures the use, maintenance and repair of its own thermal energy network;

c) it follows the attainment of its own standardized technological consumption rates for the transport of thermal energy;

#### C. With Regards to the Use of Electric and Thermal Energy

Article 15. - The Ministry of Electric Energy is responsible for the direction and coordination of activities regarding the rational use of electric and thermal energy by all categories of consumers, to which end:

a) it draws up unified approvals and agreements regarding supplying electric and thermal energy to new consumers or consumers that are being developed, in accordance with legal regulations;

b) it establishes electric and thermal energy consumption schedules regarding the maximum amount of power to be used at peak load hours in the national energy system, the minimum technological power levels and damage levels, the loading levels for production shifts, the flattening of the power curve and operation of buffer consumers, the compensation for reactive electric energy, the limiting of distorted schedules, the use of electro-thermal receivers, the recovery and reuse of condensate, and the establishment of hydraulic and thermal balance in the thermal energy network;

c) it approves studies and documentation for the construction of electric and thermal power plants in those units subordinate to other ministries and local and central organs, pursuing a centralized supply of heat and promoting optimum solutions for the better use of primary energy resources;

d) it approves studies on the assimilation, approval and production of household electric products;

e) it studies and draws up rate schedules for electric and thermal energy that will ensure the rational use of energy and the conservation of electric and thermal energy, cooperating with the State Committee for Prices;

f) it approves production plans and the operating schedules for electric and thermal power plants belonging to other ministries and central or local organs;

g) it directs energy activities and energy management activities, as well as activities to organize them and to train energy personnel within the units consuming electric and thermal energy, and it gives technical assistance, on the basis of contracts, to units subordinate to other ministries and central or local units will use electric and thermal power plants and the thermal energy networks;



h) it exercises review of the manner in which all the categories of electric and thermal energy consumers fulfill their obligations in accordance with the legal regulations regarding the rational use of energy and the conservation of electric and thermal energy, as well as their energy consumption schedule, pursuing primarily;

- the elaboration of energy reviews and the standards for electric and thermal energy consumption in accordance with the regulations in effect and the implementation of the measures that result from these reviews;

- the modernization of technologies and production processes, as well as equipment, installations and devices which consume electric and thermal energy;

- the rational use of devices that are large consumers of electric and thermal energy through the optimization of production processes and the reduction of the length of time for operating during slack times;

- the reduction of the specific rates of electric and thermal energy consumption and the strict adherence to the energy consumption standards and approved allotments;

i) it takes effective measures to limit or to interrupt, with prior warning, electric and thermal energy users in cases where they exceed the scheduled amounts of energy set in allocations or the amounts of power approved for peak load hours.

#### D. With Regards to the Management of the National Energy System Through Controllers

Article 16. - The Ministry of Electric Energy is responsible for the management of the national energy system through controllers for the purpose of the safe and economical operation of this system, to which end:

a) it ensures the unified and interconnected operation of the component electric power plants, stations and lines of the national energy system, as well as the interconnected operation of this system with the energy systems of other countries;

b) it ensures the maintenance of a permanent balance between the production and consumption of electric energy corresponding to the frequency of operation of the energy system and the rational use of hydro-electric resources and fuels on the basis of reviews that have been approved for the production of electric and thermal energy;

c) it coordinates the schedules for the operation, the allocation of tasks to the electric power plants, the movement of power and the regulation of power tension, as well as the movements within the electric installations of the national energy system under normal situations and when there is damage to the system;

d) it ensures the regulation of exchanges of electric energy with the energy systems of other countries;

e) it draws up programs, schedules and schemes for the operation of the national energy system within the framework of plan provisions, keeping in mind the specific situation of the installations during each phase;

f) it establishes and attains the technical measures for the development of automatic devices in the system in order to prevent damage or the extension of damage in the system;

g) it ensures rapid intervention and actions that are obligatory for all those units that have installations that are connected to the national energy system, regardless of their subordination, and ensures the return to normal operations of the national energy system in the shortest possible time under exceptional conditions when there is danger of loss of stability in the operation of the national energy system or in certain regions of the system, and under conditions of unusual meteorological phenomena, as well as in situations where certain electric energy groups, stations and lines are out of operation, totaling significant amounts of electric power;

h) it completes and applies standards regarding the size and period for the reduction of the consumption of electric and thermal energy upon the fall of the operating frequency of the national energy system below the technically permitted limits, standards which are obligatory for all categories of consumers;

i) it works, in accordance with the instructions in effect, for the disconnection from the electric network, with prior notice, of electric energy consumers which do not adhere to the regulations issued for the reduction of consumption under special circumstances;

j) it works so that the units subordinate to other ministries and central or local organs which have and use their own electric plants, lines, stations and networks will ensure:

- the start-up of energy groups within the planned timeframes and their repair within the timeframes that have been approved by the energy controller;

- the use and maintenance of energy installations so as to avoid incidents and damage and to prevent their spread into the national energy system;

- the maintenance of measurement, control, protection and automation devices in energy installations in an appropriate operational state;

- the organization of operational controller orders in its own energy installations.

#### E. With Regards to the Development of the National Energy System

Article 17. - The Ministry of Electric Energy is responsible for carrying out the national energy system development program in a unified manner, to which end:

- a) on the basis of the plan, it ensures the development of the electric and thermal energy branch and the national energy system at a sustained rate in accordance with the requirements of the national economy, as well as of the sector for energy construction and assembly projects;
- b) it draws up the draft plan for the electrification of the country and the draft plan for the development of electric and thermal energy, including new, recoverable and reuseable energy sources, keeping in mind their role in the overall national economy, as well as trends and the progress made on a worldwide scale;
- c) it coordinates the energy and electric power reserves for the overall national energy system and the reserves of thermal energy, pursuing the rational use of electric and thermal energy;
- d) it ensures the intense development of the construction of hydro-electric power plants, pursuing the maximum and complex use of the hydro-energy potential of interior rivers through their phased complex management, including the use of micro-scale hydro-electric plants, as well as the hydro-electric potential of the Danube River in cooperation with countries bordering the river;
- e) through its own design units, it draws up developmental studies for establishing optimum solutions for supplying electric and thermal energy to the large industrial complexes and to localities on the basis of its own study and projection programs and the requests made by the ministries and other local and central organs;
- f) it draws up typical designs for electric power plants and thermal power plants with flow rates greater than 100 t/h or 100 GCal/h;
- g) it approves construction studies and documentation drawn up by units subordinate to other ministries and central or local organs for the construction of new thermal power plants or the expansion of existing ones, as well as the inclusion in the plan of projects proposed by these organizations regarding new plants and facilities for the production of electric and thermal energy;
- h) it ensures the design and construction of electric heating plants and thermal power plants with a total installed flow rate of a minimum of 100 t/h or 100 GCal/h which are not integrated into the technological processes of certain consumers and which supply a number of economic units or provide urban heating, as well as the networks for the transport of thermal energy;
- i) it ensures the achievement of its own investment projects for the development of facilities for the production of electric and thermal energy, including using new sources and recoverable and reuseable sources of energy;
- j) through its own specialized units for energy construction and assembly projects, it ensures the completion of its own investment projects for the development of the national energy system, as well as, on the basis of contracts, those investment projects in the plans of other ministries regarding the construction of new electric and thermal plants or the expansion of existing ones;

k) it organizes and develops its own energy construction and assembly activities, in correlation with the national energy system development plan and the requirements concerning energy construction and assembly projects abroad, and is responsible for the proper execution of these projects;

l) it cooperates with the State Committee for Nuclear Energy in the field of the use of nuclear energy for the production of electric and thermal energy, and the design, assembly and use of nuclear electric power plants; it ensures the measures for the interconnection of the nuclear electric power plants into the national energy system and for the acceptance of these plants for use; it approves the conventional portion and conventional equipment in the nuclear electric power plants;

m) it approves technical-economic studies for the assimilation of new products of great importance which have to do with the electric and thermal energy branch and the national energy system and it approves, from an energy point of view, the assimilation and approval of equipment, installations and devices that are included in the national energy system, pursuing an increase in reliability and an improvement in their efficiency;

n) it approves the technical-economic indicators of complex installations of machinery and installations of great importance that are to be installed in the national energy system.

F. With Regards to Activities in Scientific Research, Technological Engineering, Technical Documentation and the Introduction of Technical Progress

Article 18. - The Ministry of Electric Energy is responsible for the organization and management of activities for technical documentation, research and technological engineering in its subordinate units and it ensures the use of the results of scientific research for the purpose of introducing the newest technical advances in the world into its own field of activities.

Article 19. - The Ministry of Electric Energy draws up, together with the National Council for Science and Technology, the plans for scientific research, technological development and the introduction of technical progress.

Article 20. - The Ministry of Electric Energy organizes and ensures, through its own units and in cooperation with the other ministries, activities for documentation and technological research and design regarding the use of electric and thermal energy, taking steps to inform the consumers of electric and thermal energy with regards to the trends in technical-scientific progress at the national world levels and the use of research in this field for the purpose of accelerating actions to reduce energy consumption and to have a rational management of electric and thermal energy.

Article 21. - The Ministry of Electric Energy organizes and ensures activities for documentation, research and technological design in its subordinate units regarding the better use of new, recoverable and reuseable sources of energy.

The Ministry of Electric Energy cooperates with the Ministry of the Chemical Industry in research activities regarding the better energy use of electrochemical, biochemical, biomass and biogas sources and other chemical sources, as well as with other ministries, in the field of recoverable and reuseable energy resources and in the identification of new energy sources.

Article 22. - The Ministry of Electric Energy coordinates and is responsible for all activities to standardize electric and thermal power plants and electric lines, stations and networks, as well as thermal networks, to which end:

- a) it adopts the most efficient solutions for the attainment of energy objectives, for the purpose of reducing material, fuel and energy consumption;
- b) it establishes the optimum solutions for the operation of energy installations with a high degree of safety.

#### G. With Regards to the Use of New, Recoverable and Reuseable Energy Sources

Article 23. - The Ministry of Electric Energy is responsible for the use of new, recoverable and reuseable energy sources in the production of electric and thermal energy, to which end:

- a) together with the Council for the Coordination of the Development of the Energy Base and the Operation of the National Energy System and the National Council for Science and Technology, it draws up the draft national program for the research, design and introduction of new, recoverable and reuseable energy sources into the economic circuit, keeping in mind their role in the overall national economy and the trends in the technical progress achieved in this field in the world;
- b) together with the Council for the Coordination of the Development of the Energy Base and the Operation of the National Energy System, the National Council for Science and Technology, and the State Planning Committee, it draws up the draft annual and future plans regarding activities for research, design and use of new, recoverable and reuseable energy sources and their development;
- c) together with the State Planning Committee and in cooperation with the other ministries, it draws up annual and future plans regarding the assimilation, standardization and production of equipment, devices and installations necessary for the use of new, recoverable and reuseable energy resources;
- d) it directs the use in all fields of new, recoverable and reuseable energy sources, providing specialized technical assistance on the basis of contracts;
- e) it pursues the manner in which other ministries and central and local organs ensure the design, production and assembly of equipment, devices and installations for the use of new, recoverable and reuseable energy sources, as well as the production of necessary spare parts in this field and their reconditioning;

f) it ensures the elaboration of technologies specific to the use of new, recoverable and reuseable energy sources, as well as the design and standardization in this field;

g) it approves the construction studies and documentation drawn up by the units subordinate to other ministries, central and local organs and state or cooperative units for the better use and use of new, recoverable and reuseable energy sources.

#### H. With Regards to the Repair and Maintenance of Equipment and Installations and the Provision of Spare Parts

Article 24. - The Ministry of Electric Energy is responsible for the achievement of timely and good quality maintenance and current and capital repairs on installations, equipment and devices in the national energy system, as well as those within the framework of other activities, to which end:

a) it is responsible for the scheduling, starting, execution and technical quality control on maintenance and repairs on powered equipment and installations through its own units and through cooperation with the specialized units of other ministries, pursuing an increase in the degree of mechanization, a decrease in the period of time for repairs, an increase in reliability and an increase in the period of operation between two repair periods;

b) it is responsible for the timely achievement of capital repairs on high-powered energy groups so that they will be completely carried out prior to the start of the annual peak load period; for those energy groups having power ratings over 100 MW, it ensures the carrying out of capital repairs on the basis of schedules which will contain the main repair projects, the duration of these repairs and the test periods for the purpose of putting them into operation, and which will be approved by the minister of electric energy;

c) it is responsible for providing the necessary amounts of spare parts and subassemblies, as well as the reconditioning of these items in its own units and in cooperation with the economic units subordinate to other ministries, and it organizes the qualitative acceptance process at the suppliers;

d) it is responsible for the elaboration of technologies for repairs and of the technical documentation for capital repairs, and it completes the technical projects for the modernization of facilities and the improvement of the operational parameters within the framework of capital repairs;

e) it ensures the expansion of the its own technical-material base for repairs, spare parts and subassemblies that is correlated with the development of the national energy system;

f) through its own units, it provides technical assistance and cooperation, on the basis of contracts, for the repair of energy equipment and installations in units subordinate to other ministries and central or local organs.

## I. Other Attributes

Article 25. - The Ministry of Electric Energy draws up studies and programs regarding the proportions, levels, rates and directions of annual and future development of its branches and sub-branches, keeping in mind their roles in the overall national economy and the trends and progress attained in the world.

For the purpose of correlating plan tasks with production capacities and pursuing the achievement of planned production, the Ministry of Electric Energy:

- a) assigns economic and financial plan indicators to its subordinate units;
- b) ensures in its field of activity the full use of production capacities, the growth of use indices for available time, the appropriate loading of technological equipment, installations and powered equipment, and the elimination of bottlenecks;
- c) is responsible for the achievement of planned physical and value production;
- d) draws up programs for cooperation in production between its subordinate units and the units of other ministries;
- e) takes efficient measures for the tailoring, specialization and concentration of production and industrial production by units;
- f) according to law, establishes measures regarding worker safety for the purpose of preventing work accidents and professional illnesses, as well as for the continuing improvement of living conditions;
- g) draws up programs of measures to increase worker productivity;
- h) is responsible for invention and innovation activities and is concerned for the spread of the most important achievements; it makes proposals regarding problems in categorization and standardization.

Article 26. - The Ministry of Electric Energy is responsible for the achievement of investments corresponding to approved plans and programs, to which end:

- a) it ensures the elaboration of technical-economic documentation, while adhering to normative acts in effect, and the application of typical designs for technologies, equipment and construction;
- b) it ensures the technical-material base for the timely achievement of investment projects;
- c) is responsible for the start-up of new facilities and for the attainment of the projected parameters within the planned timeframes.

Article 27. - The Ministry of Electric Energy ensures the coordination of activities for the organization of management, production and labor, to which end:



- a) it draws up draft plans for work standards;
- b) it organizes activities for drawing-up, applying and pursuing work standards and norms for all categories of personnel in its branches of activity;
- c) it draws up unified work standards and norms for the economy in those projects where it is the coordinator;
- d) it draws up and approves specific methodologies for standardization, as well as the unified standards and norms for its field of activities, and reviews the manner in which they are implemented;
- e) it guides, coordinates and reviews activities for the organization of management, production and work in its subordinate units;
- f) it establishes the norms for labor consumption for the products listed in the sole national economic-social development plan and follows the enterprises' staying within these norms;
- g) it participates in the drawing up of proposals regarding the improvement of the elements of the salary system;
- h) it draws up technical norms for the unified application of the elements of salary for its subordinate units and reviews the manner in which they were implemented;
- i) is responsible for the application of legal provisions regarding the organization and payment of salaries within an overall agreement contract, for the purpose of having a continuing increase in labor productivity and material incentives;
- j) it organizes, coordinates and reviews activities in the area of information and automated data processing, as well as the rationalization of the data system in its subordinate units;
- k) it draws up and presents to the Council of Ministers draft normative acts and other acts outlined by law referring to the branches and sub-branches which it coordinates; it approves draft normative acts that have been drawn up by other ministries and other central organs that deal with its field of activity.

Article 28. - The Ministry of Electric Energy ensures the implementation of the policies of the party and state in problems relating to personnel and training, to which end:

- a) it establishes the unified criteria for the selection, training, upgrade training and promotion of personnel in the ministry's system and reviews the application of these criteria;
- b) it establishes the necessary number of personnel for each year and in the future by type and specialty and takes measures for their training;

- c) it ensures the fulfillment of the measures regarding the creation of a cadres reserve in the technical, economic and other specialized fields for positions in management and production in its own apparatus and in its subordinate units;
- d) it employs personnel for its own apparatus and names the management organs for the centrals, trusts, enterprises and other units in its subordination;
- e) it draws up obligatory standards regarding the attributes and tasks for personnel in its subordinate branches;
- f) it provides the material base and equipment for the specialized high schools and professional schools subordinate to it, as well as the teaching faculty for the necessary specialties;
- g) it pursues and periodically analyzes in its subordinate units the manner of using specialized personnel, especially those personnel with higher education, and takes measures for the more judicious assignment and use of those personnel in accord with the plan tasks of the units;
- h) it takes measures for the strict adherence of all personnel to the norms that have been established by laws and work requirements and for the strengthening of order and discipline at work;
- i) it organizes and ensures the furthering of professional training for personnel, as well as for checking the knowledge of these personnel and their understanding of the laws, decisions and other normative acts;
- j) it cooperates with the institutes of higher learning in drawing up and improving the training plans and analytical programs for the specialties in the branches of the ministry and for the upgrade training courses at the post-graduate level, as well as in establishing the network for specialized higher education;
- k) it is responsible for the ministry's tasks regarding the integration of education with production and scientific research, and the coordination of the activities of the educational units having a dual subordination in the field of completing and achieving the annual research, design and microproduction plans, as well as the organization of practical activities in the enterprises.

Article 29. - The Ministry of Electric Energy is responsible for the organization of activities for documentary information, ensures informing its subordinate units regarding the trends of technical-scientific progress at the national and world levels, and produces publications and works regarding the problems of science, technology and production specific to the activities it leads.

Article 30. - The Ministry of Electric Energy provides the material base and the sale of products for the normal carrying out of production in its subordinate units, to which end:

- a) it draws up and substantiates, on the basis of consumption and stock norms and standards, the necessary amounts of raw materials, materials, fuels, packaging, spare parts and equipment, whose material reserves are approved, as the case may be, by the Council of Ministers, the ministries and other central organs;
- b) is responsible for appropriately completing the material reserves reports in its subordinate units and subunits and cooperates with the other central organs in balancing these in accordance with the tasks in the sole national economic-social development plan and the possibilities of the national economy;
- c) it ensures the supply of raw materials, materials and products for which, according to law, it is the coordinator, that are necessary for its own consumption, as well as for the other ministries and central and local organs;
- d) it takes measures to stay within the approved stock norms, as well as to prevent the creation of too large and idle stockpiles by way of a strict correlation of supplies with the needs for planned production.

Article 31. - The Ministry of Electric Energy ensures the achievement of the economic-financial indicators regarding the sold and paid-for production, incomes, profitability by product and enterprise, taxes, the rate of turnover of resources and the distribution of profits, to which end:

- a) it ensures the maximally efficient use of production assets, the mobilization of internal reserves and the permanent reduction of material costs;
- b) it analyzes accounting reports and reviews, establishing measures for the improvement of economic-financial activities in subordinate units and those which deal with activities for the entire ministry;
- c) it completes and executes the budget of incomes and expenditures for the ministry's central administration and its subordinate budgetary units;
- d) it exercises its attributes, according to law, with regards to the prices for production and delivery and the charges in its field of activities;
- e) it pursues and analyzes the evolution of prices and charges and draws up proposals for their improvement;
- f) it exercises the basic management review in the ministry and in the directly subordinate economic and budgetary units;
- g) it ensures the extension and efficient use of the means of automatic data processing.

Article 32. - The Ministry of Electric Energy ensures the achievement of export-import activities, to which end:

- a) it completes the export-import plan and is responsible for its attainment;

- b) it contracts for and achieves the energy projects and construction-assembly projects abroad through its specialized subordinate units;
- c) it contracts for and exports products and equipment of the type found in the activities of its subordinate units;
- d) it achieves the plan for electric energy trade and transit;
- e) it analyzes the import requirements of its subordinate units, establishes the necessary amounts to be imported and ensures the achievement of the assimilation programs in order to reduce imports;
- f) it organizes activities for economic, technical and scientific cooperation with other ministries and central organs in-country and abroad, in its branches of activity;
- g) it ensures the application of the international conventions and agreements referring to its field of activity and reviews the fulfillment of obligations stemming from them.

Article 33. - The Ministry of Electric Energy exercises its attributes for direction, guidance and review regarding electric and thermal energy and new, recoverable and reuseable energy sources through the authorized personnel in the ministry, the industrial centrals, the enterprises for the use and maintenance of energy networks and installations, and the enterprises for the distribution of thermal and electric energy which, in exercising their attributes, have the following rights:

- a) to accept, on behalf of the management of the controlled units, the measures for conservation and use of electric and thermal energy under conditions of maximum efficiency, as well as the better use of new, recoverable and reuseable energy sources;
- b) to apply, in accordance with the laws, legal sanctions against those who violate the technical standards and regulations regarding the administration and conservation of electric and thermal energy, as well as those regarding the better use of new, recoverable and reuseable energy sources.

The ministries, other central and local organs and the economic units are required to implement the measures regarding the better use of new, recoverable and reuseable energy sources and those regarding the administration and use of electric and thermal energy under conditions of maximum efficiency, as established by the Ministry of Electric Energy.

### Chapter III

#### Organization and Operation

Article 34. - The Ministry of Electric Energy is headed by a leadership council which decides upon the general problems regarding the activities of the ministry;

the collective leadership of the ministry's current activities and the follow-up for the fulfillment of the decisions of the leadership council is achieved through its executive bureau.

The ministry's leadership council and its executive bureau, organs of a deliberative nature, are organized and operate according to Decree No 76/1973 regarding the leadership of ministries and other central organs of the state administration on the basis of collective leadership.

Article 35. - The minister informs the ministry's leadership council on the main problems that were resolved during the period between sessions.

Article 36. - The Ministry of Electric Energy has in its administration a minister and four deputy ministers.

The deputy ministers are named by presidential decree and their attributes are established by the ministry's leadership council.

Article 37. - The minister represents the ministry in relations with other organs and organizations in the country, as well as in international relations.

Article 38. - Within the Ministry of Electric Energy there are and operate, as working organs alongside the collective leadership organs of the ministry, the Technical-Economic Commission, according to the provisions of Decree No 78.1973, and the Commission for Supervising the Operations of Hydrotechnical Projects, Dams and Other Special Constructions, in accordance with the provisions of the Law on Water Management No 8/1874.

Article 39. - The Ministry of Electric Energy has the following organizational structure:

- a) Planning-Development Directorate;
- b) Finance-Price Directorate;
- c) Technical and New and Reuseable Energy Sources Directorate;
- d) Directorate for Use, Repairs and Mechano-Energetics;
- e) Directorate for Investment Projects and Construction-Assembly;
- f) Directorate for Supply, Sales, International Economic Cooperation and Foreign Trade;
- g) Directorate for Organization, Review, Personnel and Training;
- h) Administrative, Secretariat, Reporting and Secret Documents Office.

The organizational structure by work department and the maximum number of personnel in the ministry's apparatus are those listed in Annex No 1 and Annex No 2 (these annexes were forwarded to the interested institutions), which are an integral part of this decree.

Article 40. - The Ministry of Electric Energy has subordinate to it the National Energy Control Center, industrial centers, construction-assembly trusts, enterprises, the Central Institute for Energy Research, research and design institutes, other economic units, budgetary units, specialized high schools, foremen schools and professional schools.

Article 41. - The National Energy Control Center is organized as a unit having an economic administration and legal entity status, with its headquarters in Bucharest. Its job is the management of the national energy system, the assurance of its continuing and economical operation, and the controller relationships with the energy systems of other countries, as well as the export, import and trade and transit of electric energy. The payment of salaries to the personnel in the National Energy Control Center is similar to that of a general directorate in a ministry.

Article 42. - The operating attributes and norms of the directorates and work departments within the organizational structure of the ministry and its subordinate units are established by the leadership council of the ministry, in accordance with legal provisions.

#### Chapter IV

#### Final Provisions

Article 43. - The provisions of Decree No 367/1980 regarding certain measures for the rational use of personnel in socialist units, whose validity was extended by Decree No 462/1982, is not applicable for a period of 90 days from the date of this decree for jobs in the apparatus of the Ministry of Electric Energy, as well as for jobs in the units from which and to which personnel were transferred as a result of the application of this decree.

Article 44. - The worker personnel who are moved from units into the ministry's apparatus, as well as those moved from the ministry's apparatus to units, are considered transferred in the interest of service.

Article 45. - Personnel transferred in the interest of service or moved within the same unit to jobs having lower salary levels, as well as personnel who have become unemployed as a result of the provisions of this decree, benefit from the rights listed in Article 21 of Decree No 162/1973 regarding the establishment of unified structural norms for economic units.

Article 46. - The provisions of this decree are applied within the framework of the economic-financial indicators approved by the Ministry of Electric Energy for 1983.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 13 October 1983, No 380

8724

CSO: 2700/77

USTASHA REPORTED PLANNING TERRORIST ACTIONS AGAINST OLYMPICS

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 31 Dec 83 p 29

[Article by Bjorn Lindahl]

[Excerpt] The Croatian terrorist organization Ustasha is planning large-scale actions against the winter olympics in Sarajevo. It wishes to intimidate both contestants and tourists from coming to Yugoslavia, wrote on Friday [30 Dec] Jahn Otto Johansen, editor of the Norwegian newspaper DAGBLADET.

Johansen, together with his family, was put under police protection at the beginning of December. The Norwegian security police had received a tip that two men from Ustasha were on their way to Oslo in order to take action against him or members of his family. The reason behind this was that Johansen during his 20 years as a newspaperman has often written on Ustasha and referred to the Croatian extremists as "fascists" and "murderers." He was watched day and night by a large number of police, until the security police received information that the two Ustasha men had not succeeded in passing through Germany.

Now Johansen has received information from three different sources in three countries that Ustasha is preparing terrorist actions in advance of the winter olympics.

The Croatian exile terrorist organizations, who are often discussed under the umbrella designation Ustasha, want to prevent Yugoslavia from gaining any prestige by holding the winter olympics in Sarajevo. For this reason, wrote Johansen, they are going to use the opportunity to spread as much fear and unrest as possible.

"In Yugoslavia the security measures will be so thorough that they would hardly succeed in carrying through any actions there. The risk is that they instead will operate against contestants before they arrive in Yugoslavia," said Johansen.

CSO: 3650/90



DISCUSSION OF CONSTITUTION, FEDERAL SYSTEM

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 1 Nov 83 pp 16-18

[Article by Milan Jaksic: "The Constitution Is Not Responsible"]

[Text] A few days ago we received an answer to the simplified question of whether we need a flexible or a rigid constitution: we need a constitution that will not essentially change, because its stability indicates the principled nature of the system that it represents. This was emphasized at the scholarly symposium on "The Contemporary Significance of the Second AVNOJ [Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of the Yugoslavia] Session," which was held in Cakovec, organized by the Center for Professional Improvement and Cooperation with Associated Labor of the Legal Faculty in Zagreb.

Thus, not deviating from the determination that the significance of the second AVNOJ session and everything that symbolizes it is too great for us, in commemorating its 40th anniversary, to dwell only on ordinary historical reminiscences and toasts, scholars from all of Yugoslavia (experts on constitutional law) nevertheless, in their conclusions, expressed the opinion that the constitution is the least responsible for the problems that we as a society are facing,

The main problem is that we do not always follow the provisions of the Constitution; in practice, it happens more often that we encounter violations of the constitutional norms--which are then also a deviation from the AVNJO commitments--than it does that the constitution presents any institutional obstacles for us by itself.

Dilemmas

Let us also recall certain dilemmas that appeared at the symposium in connection with the functioning of the constitutional system. Let us say, first of all, that the prevailing view is that the constitutional system is good, but that reality, being the way it is, deviates from it considerably. The adherents of this thesis emphasize that we are currently in a very complex situation, in great difficulties or stagnation, but add necessarily that in spite of everything, we are in a crisis.

The participants in the scholarly meeting in Cakovac cited as the model for their discussions the authors who oppose differentiating between the programmed

and institutionally established system, and the system that functions in practice. Specifically, this has to do with the authors who are extremely critical of the viewpoint that the system is good, and that the problem is just inconsistent implementation of it. They say that any system can only be verified and evaluated in practice, and they assert that not everything that happens in practice can be explained by the thesis that the cause of everything is only failure to implement the normative system. They propose changes in the system, at least by installing defense mechanism that would prevent it from being distorted.

If we proceed further along this path, we will also arrive at nihilistic overtones directed against the functioning of our constitutional and political system. Naturally, this has to do with the radical critics who not only write about the crisis of the constitutional system, but also call into question the correctness and realism of certain fundamental values on which the constitutional system was founded with the 1971 amendments and the 1974 Constitution. We thus come to individuals and groups who are increasingly challenging, in a more and more vocal manner, every value of the constitutional system, asserting "that the system has led to refeudalization, that it is our largest unsuccessful investment, that it is in a continual state of self-destruction, and that it is producing the crisis." They also assert that the present constitutional solutions arose under the pressure of nationalism, that they have broken up Yugoslavia, etc. They also demand radical changes in the Constitution, and they even go so far as to question some of the fundamental commitments in the Constitution.

Zdravko Tomac declared: When there are different views and assessments, not only in scholarship but also in politics and everyday life, or such an important issue as the constitutional system and its implementation, it is obvious that this has to do with different criteria for evaluating and assessing individual phenomena and trends--in this case, the implementation of the constitutional system. He proposes that we examine these criteria, and see how different and often contradictory conclusions can be drawn from the same facts and indices, such as for example, everything is good, or nothing is good and everything has to be changed.

Consequently, it was proposed at the symposium that any conversation about the constitutional system and the continuity of implementation of the AVNOJ decisions should be preceded by a fundamental analysis of the implementation of the system, primarily the implementation of the fundamental commitments of AVNOJ and the constitutional system that transformed these decisions into a specific institutional framework.

#### Balance

Taking all of these proposals into account, the Cakovec scientific meeting covered three key topics: modern Yugoslav federalism, integration processes in our society, and political responsibility for carrying out the policies outlined, as an essential prerequisite for their effectiveness.

In connection with Yugoslav federalism, Prof Smiljko Sokol emphasized the following:

"Speaking in principle, a successful constitutional model of federalism, in accordance with the specific socioeconomic, political, and other characteristics of the given overall society that it is federalizing, must ensure at a given time an effective balance between a certain degree of unification (cooperation) and a certain degree of separation of the smaller territorial entities (parts) which constitute it. This ratio between unification and separation, both through the quantification of the jurisdiction of the federation and the federated units and through the overall quality of their relations, is expressed differently in the constitutions of the 20 or so federal states existing today in the world, and even greater differences can be observed in constitutional and political reality."

Next recalling that in other federal states, both in the classical federations of the capitalist world and in federations in the developing countries, and even in the Soviet Union, their federalism, in the balance between unification and separation, is significantly and increasingly violated at the expense of separation, Sokol gives a special place to our socialist community. Specifically, he maintains that among the modern federated states, it is only in Yugoslavia that the general trend already emphasized here in the development of federalism is not confirmed either constitutionally or politically. According to him, there are two reasons for this. First of all, our federalism, due to a great extent precisely to the decisions of AVNOJ, has organically rejected any pronounced tendency toward a lasting centralization of power and decision-making at the level of the federation, which would then qualitatively change the AVNOJ balance between the above-mentioned unification and separation. On the other hand, Sokol added, since the beginning of the 1960's, Yugoslav federalism has been continually improved and coordinated with the level achieved in the constitutional model for socialist self-management.

Sokol says, however, "The 1974 Constitution, attempting to express and defend fraternity and unity, and the full unity of our peoples and nationalities under the conditions of an already--at least on the normative level--developed socialist self-management, necessarily had to form a balance between the elements of unification and separation within which the elements of separation would be emphasized more strongly, especially in comparison with the previous situation, and naturally even more so with other federated states precisely because of its fuller and truer unity."

Consequently, support was given to his view that one should oppose all those who want to change our modern federated constitutional model, since this would be a deviation above all from the AVNOJ principles for the organization of internationality relations in our Yugoslav community.

The following analyses, and not just his, without holding back touched upon the area of pronounced separations, which are frequently expressed in our social situation at the expense of unity or cooperation. It was stressed at the symposium that this is particularly evident in the sphere of the economy, but also elsewhere (the malfunctioning of the unified Yugoslav market, the isolation of

republics and provinces, the insistence on the separate interests of the republics and provinces, the relatively difficult and slow coordination of positions at the level of the federation, etc.). Full agreement was reached on the view that the above-mentioned anomalies are not the result of the unsuccessfulness of the system itself but rather, on the contrary, a result of the incomplete and inadequate application of the existing constitution and individual norms in it.

Since those participating in the discussion were for the most part professors of constitutional law, it was in this area that the discussion proceeded, in spite of the initially expressed ambition of aiming at an analysis not just of normative, theoretical, statutory, or similar categories. Consequently, considerable work will remain after this discussion for sociologists, economists, political scientists.... In fact, the Cakovec symposium was a good opportunity to elaborate on the fundamental (i.e. constitutional) determinations of our society. Respecting these determinations, and advocating further consolidation of them, the participants in the symposium did not, however, hesitate to go a step further, all the way to certain still-unresolved or occasionally controversial subjects whose clarification, they think, may help not only to preserve but also to improve further the AVNOJ criteria in assessing the value of everything that we as a society have thus far achieved.

#### Autonomy

This was also the case when a dialogue on Yugoslav autonomies was begun. Prof Ratko Markovic reacted to an interpretation expressed by Academician Prof Hodimir Sirotkovic of the essential AVNOJ principles upon which Yugoslav federalism is built; more specifically, to the part of the interpretation containing the following:

"The decision separately guarantees 'all national rights' to the national minorities. In the practical implementation of this constitutional provision, as early as the fall of 1943, the NOP distinguished between two types of autonomy--political and cultural...."

Prof Markovic, however, asserts that the decision to build Yugoslavia on the federal principle, adopted at the Second Session of AVNOJ, in section 4 (which reads: "National minorities in Yugoslavia will be guaranteed all national rights"), does not imply political and territorial autonomy, just as it does not exclude it; instead, according to Markovic, it is clear from it that in contrast to the republic countries, the autonomous units are not a category in the decisions of the Second AVNOJ Session. He feels that they are not mentioned in it.

"Likewise," Markovic adds, "it appears from this and other decisions that AVNOJ adopted at its second session that federal Yugoslavia was created by its peoples (Yugoslavia is the joint homeland of all its peoples,' and AVNOJ is the 'supreme representative of the sovereignties of the peoples and state of Yugoslavia'). In this sense, the AVNOJ principle on the subject of federal Yugoslavia was also preserved in the positive 1974 constitution."

Specifically, Markovic maintains that giving the autonomous provinces the attributes of a constituent part of the federation, which means that as such (and not through the republic containing them) they participate in the formation of federal organs and in exercising the jurisdiction of the federation. In his opinion, they are even partners in exercising legislative and constitutional authority in the federation, and even based on the principles of consensus.

"This," Markovic adds further, "theoretically severs every tie between our autonomous province and the autonomous units, and it becomes a federal unit. The autonomous provinces are furthermore part of Serbia and an element in its asymmetrical and quasifederal state system. The position of the autonomous provinces in the constitutional system has thus become contradictory. In the federation they have the position of a federal unit, and in Serbia the position of an autonomous unit, i.e., they do not participate per se in exercising its jurisdictions (in given cases they participate in the exercise of its constitutional authority)."

Prof Markovic also thinks that the constitutional definition of an autonomous province (he cites section 4 of the SFRY Constitution) is contradictory, because on the basis of it, it appears that working people and citizens, and peoples and nationalities "exercise their sovereign rights" in a nonsovereign sociopolitical community.

"This constitutional position of the autonomous provinces, which was once adopted uncritically by the FNRJ Constitution of 1946 from the USSR Constitution of 1936, has far-reaching implications for the exercise of 'sovereignty' by a republic that contains autonomous provinces, both when dealing with a republic as a state and as a federal unit," thinks Prof Markovic.

Prof Sirotkovic, however, states that the Second AVNOJ Session nevertheless discussed future autonomies, although this did not go into the decision. In connection with this, he recalled the discussions of the future state-legal status of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Sandzak, since there were views then, let us say, that Bosnia-Hercegovina should be given the status of an autonomous province, just as it was proposed that the same status should be given to Sandzak. But when the question was brought up of which federal unit Bosnia-Hercegovina should be attached to as an autonomous province (and not just because of this), this idea was given up.

#### Equality

This dialogue is thus especially interesting if we view it in light of the current discussions in Serbia. Let us therefore see how Prof Veljko Mratovic reacted to the polemics between Markovic and Sirotkovic.

Mratovic agrees with all the assertions implying that this basic concept in our construction of the Constitution and regulation was obscured by the fact that we have already, when the 1946 FNRJ Constitution was adopted and modeled after Soviet federalism, made the autonomous units elements of the federal structure, ensuring separate representation of them within the framework of the Federal Council. He likewise observes that in this period an essential difference in



the type of the basic constitutional document was manifested: in the republics it is a constitution, and in the autonomous units a statute.

Mratovic nevertheless thinks that the differentiation between the autonomous provinces and republics can be clearly seen in the two essential elements: the republic is a state, and the province is not.

"I think that the problems do not emerge from strengthening the role of the non-central organs," Mratovic says, "not even the organs of the autonomous provinces. A problem appears when such an expansion, i.e., the way in which the authority acquired is used, threatens the basic integrity of the republic. This is because from the days of AVNOJ to the existing constitutional system, the independence of the republics has always been understood and developed as the basis for ensuring the independence and equality of the peoples in the federated community and as a basis for the linkage, and not separation, of the peoples and their republics. That is also true of the autonomous provinces. The problem is not in the scope of their autonomous action. The main thing is the question of what this serves: strengthening self-management as the basis for social integration in the republic as a state and a socialist self-managing interest community of working people and citizens, or a separatist isolation, an isolation and disintegration of the republic.

"Socialist self-management should be developed everywhere, even in the autonomous provinces, but it should not destroy the basic integrity of the republic; it should not be a basis for separation, but rather for union, based on the principles of self-managing socialism. If we did not take into account these basic constitutional determinations, which were even expressed at the time of the Second AVNOJ Session, it would be difficult for us to explain why Kosovo could not have the status of a republic," Mratovic emphasized.

Mratovic further says that if we had not developed all of our institutions in the federal system, as the basis not only of the autonomous republics but also of firm linkage and cooperation based on the principles of equality in a federal community, if we had allowed overemphasized republicanism to lead to a disintegration of the federal community, to a degree threatening cooperation, this would have threatened the social integrity of the peoples whose members live in two or more republics. Through such a development, Mratovic adds, we would arrive at an absurd result: we know that the peoples of Yugoslavia fought to ensure their unhindered and free development in a new socialist Yugoslavia, while in such a situation the integrity of individual peoples would be threatened.

In seeking a way out of such discussions, appropriate solutions that will give more consideration to the prospects of our social development, i.e., the prospects for relations both in the federation and in this specific case in Serbia as well, it would be good to recall an excerpt from the statement by Jura Bilic to Zagreb journalists at the Tribune of the Society of Journalists of Croatia. Among other things, he said:

"Relations in Serbia are unique. In discussions there are frequent references to the AVNOJ decisions and to the heritage of World War II. Naturally this heritage cannot be called into question. But if the provinces do not have patience and wisdom with respect to resolving their role, which I would call a

dual one--being a constituent part of the federation and an integral part of Serbia--and if people in Serbia do not realize where the boundary is for let us say statism or statehood and self-management relations with respect to the provinces, then problems are inevitable. Great wisdom and realism are required here from the party and the leadership. But the reality is that even within our ranks there are different concepts, and such problems occur in the relations of republics and provinces in the federated socialist community. Unfortunately, it seems that it is only in extremely difficult situations that we know how to find a good solution."

9909

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## NO CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES EXPECTED FROM CRITICISM

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 15 Nov 83 pp 14-15

[Article by Momcilo Djorgovic: "False Questions and False Dilemmas"]

[Text] Talks on open questions about the functioning of the political system of socialist self-management were organized last week by the editorial board of the Belgrade periodical OPSTINA and its publisher, Republic Institute for Public Administration. In one way or another, openly or "diplomatically," with greater or lesser reserve, this gathering of serious and well-known political scientists brought up statements that the political system must be critically analyzed, improved and changed in agreement with out basic orientation. Support for such an attitude was also found in the conclusions of the 12th Congress of the SKJ and 10th session of the CK SKJ. Yet, many participants found it necessary to refer also to the atmosphere that was created around this project.

Dr Najdan Pasic observed that there are reasons for these large discussions and for the attention and emotions they provoke. "One circumstance is obvious--the decline of the capacity of the organized forces of this society to successfully direct the basic flows of social development. This indicates serious problems of the functioning of the political system, because this system is in fact the mechanism which should insure the influence of organized forces on social development."

Pasic recalled that this was already understood in October 1982, when the CK SKJ Presidium reacted to this with its well-known letter. However, 1 year has passed since that judgment and order, and little has been done. A considerable obstacle to the discussion is the constant posing of false questions and false dilemmas. Every opening of talks on this theme is connected, Pasic says, with the question: "Well then, who is for this political system, and who is against it, viz., in favor of change? In such an atmosphere we cannot have a real talk. We must clarify the situation with the defenders of the system, defenders who ascribe this function to themselves, at least in the League of Communists. Obviously we will not be able successfully to defend this system if we close our eyes to its weaknesses. The SKJ can preserve its leading role and influence on further transformation of the political system only if it will verify exactly what is not functioning in the system, and why, and what should be done to make the system more efficient."

Precisely because there are criticisms which totally negate our system and desire its destruction, the League of Communists must be more committed. Dr Zdravko Tomac has stated that there is a high degree of ideologization and politization in these questions, and that a large number of people are a priori committed, regardless of arguments and in spite of arguments. "People commit themselves beforehand for and against changes, regardless of actual analyses and actual the situation." According to Tomac, it is the task of science to state precisely what has happened so far and what is happening, and to offer a concrete strategy.

He illustrated his idea with an example: "We can obviously agree on one thing, which is that the constitutional system is not being realized as it was conceived. There are many deformations of many institutions of the constitutional system. It is possible to verify the thesis that there are two parallel systems in our country; one which we built with the constitutional reform in 1971-1977, and the other which has been made by the institutional application of the Constitution and the law in practice, and especially by the creation of some centers of decisionmaking outside all the institutes determined by the Constitution. These have become centers of political power which are, especially in the case of decisions on resources of social reproduction, a parallel anticonstitutional system which has impeded and thwarted the implementation of fundamental constitutional determinations. The political system has not succeeded in the realization of the basic goal of the constitutional reform--making the associated worker master the conditions, results and resources of labor."

The defense of this basic production relation is to Tomac the basic criterion of a critical reexamination of the political system. He also thinks that the political system is not in crisis yet, but that it can easily reach a crisis if things continue like this. According to his interpretation, in Yugoslavia there is no political disposition to seek a different constitutional system. "There are, it is true, some groups that offer a different concept, but they represent a minority and do not jeopardize fundamental commitments."

Tomac mentioned the year 1974, when 21 working groups, together with Kardelj, at Brioni at the time of work on the ZUR [Law on Associated Labor], had the task of indicating what is really happening in the implementation of the amendments and the Constitution in the process of organizing associated labor. "Already at that time it was said clearly that the system which we created, on the basis of the amendments and the Constitution, for the organization of associated labor, was in fact anticonstitutional."

Tomac has given concrete examples, too: "Last night, while traveling to Belgrade, I read in VJESNIK that in some districts in Croatia they are combining agriculture, catering, communal services, commerce into a single district organization. What is this? It is a classical example of an anticonstitutional creation of technobureaucratic monopoly and an autarchic concept of the district."

Not only Tomac but others have also noticed that we must prevail over territorial authorities. But Tomac remarked that we might have to change "relationships within SKJ themselves. We have fragmented the vanguard, the SK, into the OOUR's and bound it exclusively to the power of the district, territorial power. This center of district political power which coordinates with many small party organizations is becoming an ever greater power."

One of the creators of our Constitution, Dr Jovan Djordijevic, estimated that "while in the first period of the post-revolutionary statehood the political vanguard was the carrier and guarantor of the symbiosis of political and economic processes, in the present period this role has been assumed by the bureaucracy." He mentioned a few conditions which are the premises of a democratic and self-managed political system: institutionalizing power and the political structure, which impedes arbitrariness and personal power; democratization of the party, its transformation from a monopolistic political center into a force of integration and linkage of all the subjective forces, from sociopolitical organizations to spontaneous movements, science and culture; the existence, independently of power and against the monopoly of technobureaucratic statism, of a sphere of free and guaranteed expression for the people, reexamination and criticism of everybody, regardless of what the organizations, groups and individuals are; revival and modernization of the lawful state, which guarantees real and not fictitious constitutionality and legality. There is no more dangerous political monopoly and obstacle to the self-management political system than an ideological monopoly; abandonment of ideological dogmatism, detection and suppression of open and hidden forms of bureaucratic power [is necessary], and an ever-larger participation of people in the process of free-thinking, dialogue and proposing alternatives even when they are contrary to the official, and especially bureaucratic theses.

Dr Najdan Pasic dealt with the functioning of the federation, too. He wondered whether our nations and nationalities have enabled the federation to achieve the most vital common interests and added that things are not as they should be here. These interests cannot be realized "only on the basis of the ad hoc agreements of republican, state and political top echelon... Everything has passed into the hands of political executive organs, sociopolitical communities in the republics and provinces, and the process has assumed traits of permanent intrastate agreements, which brings into question the realization of interests formulated in the Constitution."

At the end of his exposition, Pasic asserted that the basic AVNOJ slogan was not "just brotherhood and unity but that it contained ways and means to realize this basic principle. There is no doubt that relations between sociopolitical communities have experienced a far-reaching serious statist deformation and that this is the root of many difficulties that we are facing today and of the inefficiency of the political system in some vital points." In Dr Aleksandar Fira's opinion, however, "estimates so far indicate that our federalism has indeed achieved an exceptionally high

degree of development of possibilities of expressing special interests, but we are lagging behind in the democratic synthesis of these interests. The largest number of open questions is connected with the sphere of execution. The fate of political systems, as a rule, is decided in their execution. Here we find the most bureaucratic-technocratic usurpations, and the state of constitutionality and legality is not satisfying here."

Political scientist Vojislav Stanovic has established the following mathematical equation: political factories plus political factories = political economy. He thinks that multiplication of capacities, fragmentation of the market and the OOURization are "undoubtedly done under the influence of the political factor." Another area in which the political factor has been meddling too much is that of law, which has led to the anomy of law; it has lost authority. The law is not being applied; neither the courts nor the public prosecution nor the SUP's function properly. In many cases they do not go into action before they receive a hint from political factors, which means that they are not autonomous.

Dr Stanovic illustrated his conviction that something should be changed in the political system with this example: "Under present economic, political and legal solutions, the idea of a unified Yugoslav market can be nothing else but a declaration. I notice, although I would prefer not to be right, that we constantly find some solutions for some problems with great delay. As I see it, the establishment of unified market would require so many changes in the legal system and institutional political arrangements that it is almost impossible to achieve at this stage."

Stanovic thinks that our system insufficiently ensures almost all the functions of a political system. He mentioned the integrative, regulative and directing functions. In relation to the latter, Stanovic noticed that we had even more difficult situations in the past, but the political leadership always found ideas that would mobilize people. "I do not see what ideas are being offered now that would move people. A lot is expected from the hope that 30,000 work organizations would agree on something and move forward. This is like the anecdote about the priest who could make rain if the peasants agreed, but they, of course, could never agree."

Dr Miodrag Visnjic pointed out that the essential question in the development of sociopolitical communities is that they should be less of a power over the working people and more like forms of territorial self-management integration. "Between narrower and broader sociopolitical communities there are still remnants of hierarchical relationships, but there are also unacceptable conceptions that broader communities are just a mechanical sum of narrower ones. Instead of constant strengthening of self-management components, they persistently reproduce elements of isolation and, although frequently in a transformed way and under the form of self-management, strengthen elements of political power... We will either have to realize more completely and consistently the political system prescribed by the Constitution, or we will have to quietly accept the strengthening of state interventionism which, whether we like it or not, slides into some model of statist-political system."

In this report on the discussion we certainly have not been able to mention all the points or all the speakers. The entire discussion will be published in a coming issue of the magazine OPSTINA. Let us note just one thing: in spite of sharp criticism, none of the participants has called for a change of the Constitution. In fact, what was asked was a more consistent implementation of the Constitution.

12455

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INNER WORKINGS OF FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL DESCRIBED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1714, 6 Nov 83  
pp 10-13

[Article by Jug Grizelj: "Is the Federal Executive Council Governing With Its Hands Tied"]

[Text] We related to one of the junior members of SIV [Federal Executive Council] the following anecdote which has been going around Belgrade concerning the work of SIV and we asked him to comment on it: There exist in the world several different social systems. In the West it is typical for the government to assert that everything is alright and for the opposition to assert that nothing is as it should be. In the dictatorial regimes the bosses constantly praise themselves--while the people are silent. In the East they all are anxious to assure themselves and the entire world that everything with them is wonderful. We are the only society in which everything says that nothing is any good--and in which the government itself says the same.

Everyone Has His Own Contact

It is true, was the answer, that we do have a great deal of pessimism, more than is natural, and it is also true that the government does not avoid the dark corners in its assessments. In the difficult situation which it has inherited, the furthest of all from wisdom would be for our government to opt for the assertion that it is doing a fine job and everything is wonderful. It is true that advice is coming in from all sides, criticism even more frequently, but it would be interesting--our informant continued--to see in a position in the government any of the critics of this SIV, with its inherited economic situation, with a debt running to \$20 billion, with the disrupted unity of the market and with the traditional sports fan's passion that greets every critical reflection, as though everything came down to a contest between two teams: separatism and unitarianism.

Most of the criticism addressed to SIV, we have been told by a well-known business executive who is now a member of SIV, has to do with those measures and actions of SIV which are still under consideration. The answer to the question of how it was possible to criticize something which has not yet even been proposed to the Assembly was: They all hear things, they all exert pressure, they all know through "their contacts" what is being talked about

in SIV, and this is actually direct pressure on SIV to make certain moves even before they are formulated as the positions of the Federal Executive Council--which the Yugoslav Assembly through the delegate principle has yet to verify and adopt or reject.

A still greater problem, this informant of ours added, has to do with the criticism which does not come through the public, but in "sealed envelopes" or in closed meetings. The difficulties of reaching agreement have been a permanent feature of every federation, including our own. It is the job of the Federal Executive Council to carry out in such a case the specific program for economic stabilization and to propose measures and legislative solutions in that direction to the Yugoslav Assembly. No one in SIV has any complexes about the measures which the government proposes in the Assembly being rejected or modified, since this lies in the exclusive jurisdiction of the delegate assembly and has to do with agreement among the republics and provinces. What stands in the way of our work--said our informant--are the uninterrupted accusations which come in, by means of diverse communication media, including those referred to as confidential whose content is by and large known to the public: SIV is ineffective, uncreative, opportunistic, lacks initiative, lacks unity, and vacillates.

No one claims that people in SIV and the federal administration are working infallibly--say all members of SIV with whom we talked. Our criticisms of our own work are much more serious than the criticisms which we hear from elsewhere. It is certain that in SIV there is both ability and incompetence, both courage and cowardice, as well as poor organization, it is certain that a number of members of the cabinet were not most fortunately chosen, and today it is even quite obvious that a body of 28 people is cumbersome, but those are all matters of secondary importance. SIV is just as able or incompetent--we were told by one political official, a sociologist by trade--as any other Yugoslav collective, give or take a little. The main question, however, concerning the work of SIV is whether we in Yugoslavia are agreed on the key issues of this country's development, since if we are not--and it is obvious that we are not--then there is nothing that SIV can do. SIV is then apt to be a potential candidate for hanging, but it will not be any better for anyone if in fact we hang all the members of SIV.

#### Agreement To Disagree

Speaking about this in the last meeting of the LCY Central Committee, Petar Stambolic (the sole member of the SFRY State Presidency who spoke at that meeting) quite clearly came to the defense of the Federal Executive Council, advising the supreme body of the party in the interval between congresses that it is intolerable for SIV to be placed today at the top of the list of social responsibility for failure to carry out the stabilization program, since instead of implementing the program that has been agreed on, it is being called upon to open up discussion once again on the validity of what has already been decided at all levels in the country.

Under the significant headline "Until the Next Plenum," in its comment on the last meeting of the Central Committee, EKONOMSKA POLITIKA said in its last



issue: "It would be logical to expect that it would become clear to everyone who is holding up implementation of the stabilization program, and why, if the federal government had been consistently carrying out what that program calls for, instead of complaining through its representative at last week's plenum about how there is a multitude of proposals on all key topics, each of which claims the right to interpret and apply the stabilization program. Put simply," EKONOMSKA POLITIKA continues, "it is not the job of the federal government to organize the prize fight, much less does it have the right to sit off to the side because of the mess in the ring. Incidentally, the pressures of opposing interpretation did not start yesterday, nor were those circumstances unknown a year ago to the present members of the team in New Belgrade."

Here are the questions which we put to one of the most prestigious members of SIV, one who is said to be unbiased: Is the Federal Executive Council in agreement within its own ranks on carrying out the first phase of the stabilization program? That is one of the questions, our informant said, that I have been putting to myself from the first. I would rather say, he added, that we are in agreement--with small exceptions. I think that the trouble is that the debates, proposals and assessments of SIV are accompanied by the perpetual uncertainty of SIV members themselves about whether what is being proposed is good or not, that is, is what they themselves are proposing good? Aside from a few of those who directly root for their own republics and provinces, the main dilemma of SIV members is this: how to get one's bearing in the enormous number of topics which are being dealt with, when there is so little time to study any particular issue, and SIV members are being called upon so often to raise their hands for or against some position.

On the other hand--this is the opinion of all those with whom we spoke--the information system available to SIV and to the federal administration, and indeed to the country as a whole, is extremely weak. Not uncommonly SIV is operating with altogether contradictory data, and the confusion is compounded by the data given by officeholders in speeches and by newsmen in their articles, so that there is a perpetual confusion as to which data are correct. This is supported by the recent statement by Dr Radmila Stojanovic, professor, according to whom there is no way in Yugoslavia today to obtain any sort of serious data--whether it be the number of investment projects, the level of investment, or anything else in the field of the economy.

Some Go This Way, Some Go That Way

The government's big problem--we were told by the people in SIV--is the traditional lack of communication between departments. Intersector communication is absolutely below the minimum permissible level, and it is not rare for two sectors within the same SIV to be operating on the basis of differing data, assessments and points of departure. In speaking about the professional qualifications of SIV members one person we spoke with said: There are mainly two kinds of people in this body. Let us call one group the proceduralists, who are interested only that everything conforms with respect to procedure, while the others are theoreticians and people of conception and strategy, people of exceptional wisdom and knowledge--but people who have a

difficult time getting their bearings in day-to-day tasks. According to some rule or some unfortunate accident, it often happens that the "proceduralists" in SIV have the most to say on matters of conception and strategy, while the "strategists" attempt to handle the practical tasks.

Aside from that, and that is no small problem in the work of SIV, say witnesses of daily events in the Federal Office Building, a serious problem in the work of the highest Yugoslav political executive body derives from the fact that some of the members of SIV, whose background is in smaller communities, have hardly any awareness of the situation of others. They visit their own community at least twice a month, while there they again get stuffed with the knowledge and experience from that community, and then when they come to SIV they are, of course, under the influence of those problems. Even when they are not the spokesman of their own community, the republic or province from which they come, they are handicapped by their lack of familiarity with the problems of the whole and by an inability to see Yugoslavia's strategic reference point. This witness made an interesting observation to us: As a rule, he said, the people who have come to work in SIV from sociopolitical organizations have the breadth of Yugoslav views and an understanding of others, while the people who have come directly from the economy--which is no small paradox--have very great difficulty ridding themselves of the outlook of their own industry and republic.

One of the large problems in the work of the federal administration, we were told time and again by those we spoke with, is the passivity which has seized many specialists in the administrative apparatus. It seems that many of them have been seized by a state of mind that gives rise to the conception that creation and presentation of even the best projects and solutions do not help much if the politicians think otherwise, since the opinion of the politicians will always triumph.

Everything that you hear about the administration of SIV is not actually an original story: we all experience all of this more or less in our own workplaces. They tell us, for instance: One of the reasons for the lack of creation in the federal administration is the system of promotion and rewards to civil servants, which does not encourage them to be creative, but obedient and to fight for hierarchical rather than specialized positions. Precisely for that reason many of our superb specialists often write studies and projects which they know in advance not to be optimal, but which they are certain their chiefs will like. In this connection here is a significant tale: One federal civil servant last year applied for a counselor's position requiring professional expertise. He was not hired, since the strict commission which assessed the candidates found that some applicants were better trained and more able than he was. Yet a bit later this man was appointed assistant minister through republic connections, and he became the boss of the person who was better than he was in the competition for the counselor's place.

#### Personal Power Threatened

And the author heard many other stories and laments these past several days in the different departments: people have become past masters in the copying

of documents and in the vocabulary used in congresses, so that they need nothing else but a bit of routine. Of course, all those stories can hardly be said to be characteristic only of the federal administration, but not, say, of the republic or opstina administration.

What can the Federal Executive Council do in a situation when their proposals of measures and acts embodying the system are disputed from many sides, and that from the same position of the stabilization program which the members of SIV believe to be their own point of departure? It would seem--although several SIV members with whom the author spoke fiercely deny it--that a sizable number of SIV members are after all of the belief that solutions have to be found which will not cause new crises and harsh confrontations, which as a rule disturb the country as a whole. For that reason, it seems almost certain, SIV will very shortly come before the Assembly--concerning the foreign exchange system, and the price system, and other pieces of legislation embodying the system--with proposals which are not optimal in the sense of being lasting solutions--but which have the greatest chances of passage. In the opinion of one person we spoke with, this is not really the worst case: the worst case is when people are divided into maximalists and cosmeticians with the help of labels, into federalists and confederalists, into separatists and unitarists, and when the discussions are conducted not on the basis of the facts, but on the basis of arbitrary assessments, i.e., on the basis of doctrinaire-dogmatic confrontations about who is "for the constitution," and who is "against the constitution." Moreover, we were told by one person, even when the charge is so serious as the one about the more favorable climate and pressures for return to centralism and unitarianism, not a single specific example is cited, nor a single fact. Today there is a great deal of talk in our country about centralism, in which, say those we spoke with, centralism and centralization are confused. Quoting Dr Jovan Djordjevic, our informant added: "Centralism is an ideology of subordination, while centralization of certain functions of society, such as foreign relations, national defense, security, finance, the economic and political system, joint functions and basic social values, is a necessity of a productive and functional democratic federalism."

One person we spoke with expressed an interesting reflection out loud--once again, of course, anonymously, unfortunately: "It seems to me," he said, "that in connection with carrying out the long-range stabilization program the outcry about the danger of centralism concerning certain solutions derives much less from a conviction that a restoration of centralism is actually possible, given the dispersion of capital which we have carried out--and much more of a fear that consistent implementation of the program of the Krajger Commission would open up the way to economic laws and the mechanism of the planned market, which, beyond all doubt, would take power not only from federal institutions, but also from republic and provincial institutions to a much greater extent."

One of the questions which we put to each person we interviewed in this little poll of ours was this: What will the Federal Executive Council do if its conception of the economic stabilization program is not adopted? Will it propose a second, a third...?

## What Is the "Green Book"

The involuntary pretext for this question came to us from a statement by Zvone Dragan, vice chairman of SIV, and a comment on that statement by VJESNIK editor Zivko Gruden during the past several days. That is, Zvone Dragan on two occasions said in a recent press conference (and a few days ago he repeated it in the meeting of the LCY Central Committee) that today we would be in a much more favorable economic situation if we had carried out at least half of the economic stabilization programs contained in the "Green Book" which was drawn up by the previous SIV in mid-1981 and sent to the SFRY Assembly for consideration. Zvone Dragan (who was also vice chairman in the previous SIV), said on that occasion that even today he stood behind that "Green Book," and that it was not adopted because not only in the administration and SIV, but indeed throughout the entire society, there was a lack of willingness, strength and determination to insist on implementing the measures in that "Green Book."

The VJESNIK commentator Zivko Gruden on that occasion asked how it was possible that here 2 years later we should learn that an economic stabilization program was drawn up back in 1981 which was not adopted at that time? How could anyone accept or refuse to accept these assertions of Dragan's--the commentator continued--when the public had never even learned about the existence of that "Green Book," which it did not have a chance to judge either? That book disappeared just as conspiratorially as it appeared. And now, here is Gruden's point: "Had SIV said at that time: 'This is our program for overcoming the difficulties; if it is not adopted, things will get still worse, and this SIV cannot and does not wish to bear responsibility for that,' the mood throughout society would truly have become clear and perhaps the 'Green Book' would have passed (or perhaps the SIV would have fallen)."

If, then, you propose some solution, some concept, and it is not adopted, how, then, is it possible for you to forget about that conception of yours and to begin to work on another conception which most probably is not an expression of your views and conclusions? In other words, the government pushes a project, if it does not get support, it passes on to another, and then to a third, they are all rejected--but the government goes on governing as though nothing had happened.

## Where Does Encapsulization Lead

Which leads us, then, to the question: Is the present SIV, headed by Comrade Milka Planinc, prepared to back off from its conception of economic stabilization if it is not adopted, and to take up certain other conceptions? None of the SIV members with whom we consulted these past several days on this topic had any dilemma: This SIV does not intend to "continue to govern" if it does not receive support for its conception, since that would mean that it no longer enjoys confidence. In this connection our informants reminded us that Comrade Milka Planinc was prepared to withdraw even on that famous July night when the government's proposal about borrowing in 1983 was being discussed in the Assembly. She and the entire SIV, these sources of ours assert, would quite certainly tender their resignation if the present conception of SIV for

carrying out the first phase of the stabilization program does not pass. They say that the chairwoman of SIV has already communicated as much in the most responsible places these past several days. In general it is thought in the present SIV that it is unfortunate that the government has been so restrained up to this point in the use of all those measures and powers which SIV has under the constitution.

There are times, we were told, when it is useful to use even what are referred to as spectacular methods in seeking a way out of a crisis; this is in any case more worthwhile than entering into new compromises in a situation when every compromise can only mean a deeper abyss. In answer to our question about what would happen if, say, concerning some key issue one republic or province would stand fast in its refusal to grant consent to some feature of the system, while the seven others were "in favor," in the opinion of our informants--the constitution has provided a quite clear and complete procedure which, however gloomy it might seem in its ultimate consequences, also has one great advantage: the republic or province which even after all efforts finds that it cannot grant consent to some essential piece of economic legislation--will have to defend its position publicly, from the rostrum of the Assembly, with data rather than assessments, before the eyes of its own people and before the entire country.

In the Federal Executive Council--although one cannot speak about any great optimism concerning our present situation--it is believed that reason will prevail. Especially since even though centralism and unitarianism may be real facts, autarky, ineffectiveness in reaching agreement and encapsulation in local communities are actually doing the most effective work toward one kind of centralization--the one that takes the form of someone's big stick.

[Box, p 13]

#### The Red Thread

If one might draw a common denominator from all the conversations which we had with some dozen of the most distinguished members of SIV, then it might run this way: SIV has no intention of behaving "meekly." Where the Stabilization Program is clear--and our proposals will be definite--they say in SIV--where there are no gaps in the program that allow for differing interpretations--we will furnish our own interpretations. The red line of our concept is clear: neither eight statisms nor one centralism! Wherever we are unable to offer lasting solutions--we will propose transitional ones, just as the program foresees. It is clear to everyone that in this situation there are no moves to be made which are so optimal as not to involve certain adverse consequences as well. The question is always whether the consequences which lead toward liberation of associated labor from administration, and that regardless of which administration, the opstina, the republic or the federal, outweigh those which lead toward a new enslavement of the market and economic laws?

YUGOSLAVIA

NEWSPAPER REPORTS CAUSE OF SOCCER INCIDENT

[Editorial Report] Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian on 15 November 1983, page 3, discloses for the first time the cause of a public altercation involving soccer fans in Belgrade in November of 1982. Fans of Belgrade's Partizan team were reported at the time to have attacked and beaten, for no visible reason other than an excess of partiality, a busload of fans of the Hajduk team from Split in Croatia. The bus from Split is now described as having been emblazoned with a hand-painted banner reading "Nas Dragi Hajduk" (Our Dear Hajduk), the three initials being larger than the other letters. The readership of ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA does not need to be told what the acronym NDH stands for: the Independent State of Croatia (1941-1945).

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## BRIEFS

JOURNALISTS FEDERATION PRESIDENT--Skopje 9 December (TANJUG)--At its session here today, the Presidency of the Yugoslav Journalists' Federation elected Petar Karajanov, director and editor-in-chief of the KOMUNIST edition for Macedonia, as its new president. The Federation Presidency president's term of office is 1 year. Petar Karajanov holds two awards for journalism given by the Republic of Macedonia. He is also a member of the Republican Central Committee of the League of Communists. [Text] [LD120200 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1330 GMT 9 Dec 83]

NEW TURKISH AMBASSADOR--(TANJUG)--Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, received Ali Hikmet Alp, newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey to the SFRY, in the Palace of the Federation yesterday, and had a friendly talk with him afterwards. The reception was attended also by Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and Rafael Cijan, deputy secretary general of the SFRY Presidium. [Text] [AU191131 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Dec 83 p 2]

DEPARTING SPANISH AMBASSADOR--(TANJUG)--Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, presented Jesus Millaruelo Clementez, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Spanish state to the SFRY, who is leaving Yugoslavia soon, the Order of the Yugoslav Flag with The Ribbon in the Palace of the Federation yesterday. The reception was attended by Muhamed Bergerovic, secretary general of the SFRY Presidency, Momcilo Vucekovic, assistance federal secretary for foreign affairs, and others. [Text] [AU191131 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Dec 83 p 4]

LEBANESE PREMIER RECEIVES AMBASSADOR--Beirut--Shafiq al-Wazzan, Lebanese prime minister, yesterday received Dragoslav Pejic, Yugoslav ambassador to Lebanon. In a long, cordial, and friendly talk they discussed the development of cooperation between Lebanon and Yugoslavia which, it was said, is successful. The current situation in Lebanon was also discussed. Prime Minister al-Wazzan acquainted Ambassador Pejic with the Lebanese government's efforts to improve the situation in the country, which is entering the 10th year of civil war. [Text] [AU191333 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Dec 83 p 7]

RESERVE OFFICERS ELECT PRESIDENT--Belgrade--At its session today, the Presidium of the Federal Conference of the Yugoslav Reserve Officers' Federation elected People's Hero Col Gen Petar Brajovic as new president with a 1-year mandate.



The session also adopted the conclusions of the consultative meeting on the place and role of the Reserve Officers' Federation in society and in the system of all-people's defense and social self-protection. [Summary] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1227 GMT 16 Dec 83 LD]

WOUNDED PALESTINIANS IN BELGRADE--Belgrade 18 December (TANJUG)--A group of 19 wounded Palestinians arrived this afternoon by special plane of the Aviogeneks Company from Larnaca to Belgrade. The wounded Palestinian fighters, who were evacuated last night from Tripoli and first taken to Cyprus, will continue their treatment at the Military Medical Academy in Belgrade. [Text] [LD181621 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1610 GMT 18 Dec 83]

NEW PRC ENVOY--Belgrade 19 December (TANJUG)--Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, today received the credentials of the newly-appointed PRC Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the SFRY, Xie Li. Following the ceremony, President of the Presidency Spiljak held friendly talks with Ambassador Xie, in which Mirko Ostojic, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs, Muhamed Berberovic, general secretary of the SFRY Presidency, and other officials took part. [Text] [LD192236 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1333 GMT 19 Dec 83]

SLOVENIA TANJUG APPOINTMENT--Ljubljana 20 December (TANJUG)--Ales Kardelj, hitherto chairman of the Municipal Conference of the Ljubljana Moste-Polje SAWP, has been appointed new chief editor and director of the TANJUG Editorial Board for Slovenia. Francka Strmole Hlastec, prominent sociopolitical worker and chairman of the Supreme Court of Slovenia, has been appointed chairman of the Social Council of this editorial board. [Summary] [LD220430 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1321 GMT 20 Dec 83]

COOPERATION PROGRAM WITH CHINA--Belgrade 20 December (TANJUG)--A programme for educational and cultural cooperation between Yugoslavia and China to the end of 1986 was signed in Belgrade today (Tuesday). The programme provides for exchange of professors and students, participation in seminars on Slavic languages and literatures and others, and granting of scholarships. An innovation is future joint work on compilation of a Macedonian-Chinese dictionary and lectures by Chinese professors at the Belgrade University of Arts. The programme covers participation of the people's artistic theatre of Peking at the International Theatre Festival "Bitef 83," and guest performances in Yugoslavia as well as organization of an exhibition of Yugoslav primitive art in China was also agreed. [Text] [LD220430 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1929 GMT 20 Dec 83]

SWAPO LEADER VISITS BELGRADE--Belgrade 20 December (TANJUG)--President of the South West Africa People's Organisation of Namibia (SWAPO) Sam Nujoma made a brief stopover in Belgrade during which he met with member of the Socialist Alliance of Yugoslavia Federal Conference Presidency Refki Dauti. They exchanged views on the current international situation and on the two organizations' activities. Cooperation between the Socialist Alliance and SWAPO was also discussed. [Text] [LD210428 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1903 GMT 20 Dec 83]

YNA DAY CONGRATULATIONS TO MAMULA--Belgrade 21 December (TANJUG)--Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary of national defense, held talks today in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense with Stane Dolanc, federal secretary of internal affairs, and his associates, who called on him in connection with Yugoslav National Army [YNA] Day. On behalf of members of the services and of internal affairs organs, Stane Dolanc congratulated Admiral of the Fleet Branko Manula on the holiday, and asked him to convey his congratulations and greetings to all YNA members in connection with 22 December. Among other things, the federal secretary of internal affairs stressed he is pleased with the successes the YPA and our armed forces are attaining in consolidating the defense might of our socialist self-management community. Colonel General Dane Cuic, president of the LCY Organization Committee in the YNA, Lieutenant Colonel Generals Jere Grubisic and Georgije Jovicic, and Rear Admiral Zvonimir Kostic were present at the meeting. [Text] [LD211316 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1015 GMT 21 Dec 83]

MARINC CONCLUDES JAPAN VISIT--Tokyo 22 December (TANJUG)--The meeting and talks which member of the LCY Central Committee Presidency Andrej Marinc had with leading Japanese politicians during a visit to Japan have been assessed by both sides as useful exchanges of views which will contribute to the further development of cooperation between political parties in Japan and Yugoslavia and between the two countries. Marinc left for Yugoslavia today. The 4-day visit took place at the invitation of the Japan Communist Party as part of regular contacts between the two parties. Marinc also met with leaders of the Japan Socialist Party and the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party. [Text] [LD222013 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1656 GMT 22 Dec 83]

NEW AMBASSADOR TO SWEDEN--Belgrade 22 December (TANJUG)--By decree of the SFRY Presidency, Marjan Osolnik has been appointed new ambassador to Sweden. His latest post was that of deputy president of the Republican Social Council for International Relations of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. [Summary] [LD240444 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1213 22 Dec 83]

NEW AMBASSADOR TO BELGIUM--Belgrade 23 December (TANJUG)--By decree of the SFRY Presidency, Gavra Popovic, hitherto assistant federal secretary for finance, has been appointed ambassador to Belgium. [Summary] [LD240444 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0748 GMT 23 Dec 83]

KOSOVO YOUTH OFFICERS--Pristina 23 December (TANJUG)--During the recess at today's session of the provincial conference of the Kosovo Socialist Youth Federation, a session of the federation's presidium was held at which Minire Banjaku was elected President of the Presidium of the Kosovo Socialist Youth Federation Provincial Conference, and Zlatko Mavric, secretary. [Excerpts] [LD240444 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1520 GMT 23 Dec 83]

DEFENSE COUNCIL SESSION--A session of the SFRY Presidency Council for National Defense was held in Belgrade today. Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, chaired the session. The council reviewed the current trends of armament and deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe, and the consequences for the security of the SFRY. It was concluded that the development of the latest situation demands that appropriate measures be taken to strengthen the

country's defense capability. The council also examined the state of affairs in and problems of transport from the point of view of defense, a number of matters relating to organization of territorial defense, information about the joint tactical exercise "Unity-83" and a number of other matters from its work program. [Text] [LD232235 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1411 GMT 23 Dec 83]

MILITARY TECHNOLOGY RESEARCH CONFERENCE--Kragujevac 26 December (TANJUG)--A 2-day conference on scientific research in the sphere of military technology organized by the Federal Secretariat for National Defense began today in Kragujevac. The conference aims, on the basis of previous experience and the country's current and future defense needs, to set measures for even more effective research and development work, for better utilization of the country's scientific potential and for a greater degree of organization in executing complex research and development programs. Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, secretary for national defense, spoke in this morning's session of the conference, insisting above all on the optimum coordination of military skill and military technology, that is, on the development of armaments and military equipment best adapted to our concept of an all-people's defense. In addition to military technology experts, research workers and experts from scientific and research and development institutions, as well as from work organizations involved in carrying out research and development programs to meet the needs of our armed forces, are also taking part in the conference. The Crvena Zastava Works are hosting the conference. [Text] [LD261912 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1226 GMT 26 Dec 83]

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